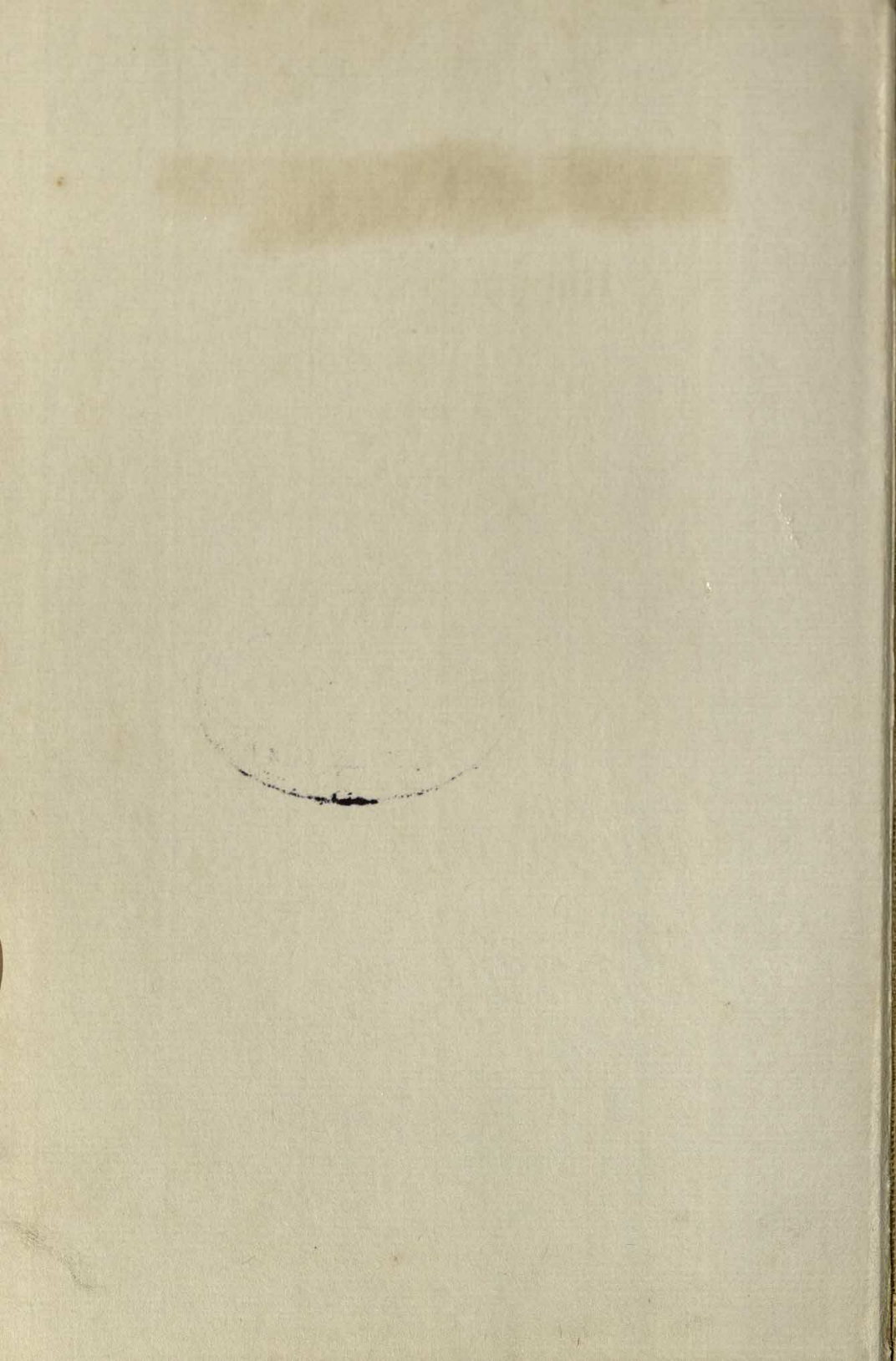




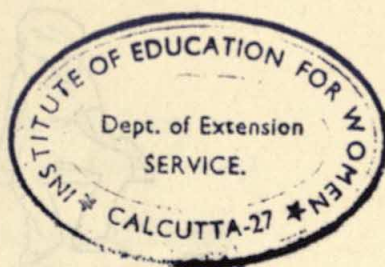
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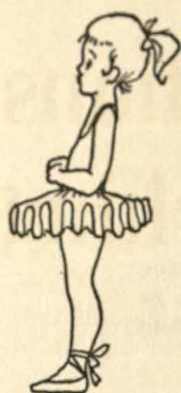
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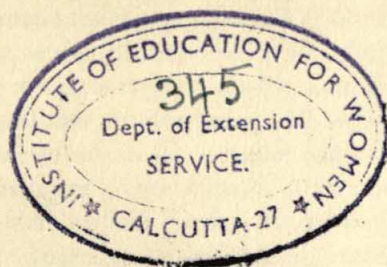
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HELPING CHILDREN GROW

Howard Lane
and Mary Beauchamp

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



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PRENTICE-HALL EDUCATION SERIES

John S. Brubacher, Editor

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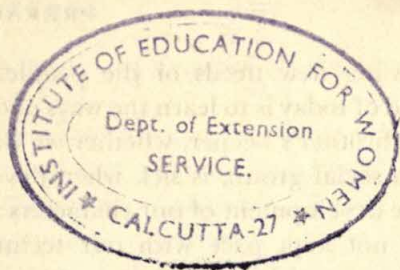
First printing April, 1955

Second printing March, 1956

Third printing August, 1957

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Preface

Human Relations in Teaching is an invitation to be thoughtful. It is written for the friends of younger people. We hope that it will remind parents, teachers, neighbors, and other educators that they began life as children and that life then was as sweet, delightful, challenging, and important as it is to them now. It is written for these friends to study and ponder and thus help them devise ways and schemes for rearing the kind of people who can live happily, productively, and securely in this new world that must learn to control the release of new energies.

We should like the reader of this preface to read the whole book. To help him decide whether or not he wishes to do so, we offer this brief of what it says.

The Creator made no two people alike; do we really value and cherish the uniqueness of our children? At birth humans are little more than alimentary canals with sound effects; all distinctively human qualities are learned. All human behavior is social—social in origin, social in purpose; shall the school continue to be individualistic and contentious? Man's being in "the image of God" means that he can participate in creation by means of his intelligence. Intelligence is learned, intelligence is social—two heads are more than twice as good as one if they pursue common purposes. Creation is still going on; mankind can participate in it. Creation is constructive change. Change is the basic law of life; it can take place through intelligent planning or through the violence of revolution.

The fundamentals of American education have always been the

pressing new needs of the people. The overwhelming, urgent need of today is to learn the ways of cooperation. We have become our brother's keeper, whether we like it or not. A human being, or a social group, is sick when development is markedly uneven. The development of our characters and of our social arrangements has not kept pace with our technology. Today the people in American cities are angry at their older children; they give little attention to the fact that cities have been built with scant regard to providing space and useful work for youth. Modern industrialism produces vast quantities of goods and services by specialization and organization. Industrial democracy can find use for unique persons who would have starved or "been on the county" in the rural, individualistic economy of our grandfathers. Democracy thrives on differences, not on similarities.

The only valid purpose of group living is the enhancement of living of the individual. The most revolutionary statement in the history of mankind is, "Man was not made for the Sabbath, the Sabbath was made for man." Humans have spiritual needs beyond those creature needs common to chickens, pigs, and chimpanzees. Lacking satisfaction of those needs, people are subject to malnutrition of the personality. The sickness of malnutrition of the soul results in disorder, degradation, violence, untimely death. These human values must be raised to the highest order of importance in homes, schools, neighborhoods, and nations.

How we teach matters quite as much as *what* we teach. Hitler was a master psychologist; Al Capone a peerless administrator. Adults must thoughtfully contemplate their proper roles in the lives of children. Children need adults. The world has not learned how to select and employ leaders. The circumstances and activities of children can be so arranged that they will learn the importance of competent, effective leadership. Children can be so treated that they see and accept the many roles they play in association with other people as members of effective, productive groups. Since most of the Western world has discontinued the large family, the most effective educator yet devised, professional educators must re-examine their concepts of grouping for educational purposes. Have we any knowledge that justifies collecting like persons together for their education? Evaluation of home, school, and neighborhood educational practices must be con-

tinuously made in terms of the quality of living of all the persons concerned.

This book came from childhoods in Mississippi, Kansas, Michigan, and Missouri; from studying and teaching and friendships and wanderings in Illinois, Oklahoma, California, Texas, and New York; and from knowing some wonderful people from India, Boise, Puerto Rico, Tours, LeRoy, Shanghai, LaPlata, Wichita, Minneapolis, Hampton, Kirksville, Emporia, Oslo, Melbourne, . . .

We have learned much from our students and now most earnestly proclaim that poor indeed is the teacher who learns less from his pupils than they learn from him. We believe that the morally responsible, increasingly intelligent teaching profession can win H. G. Wells' mad race between education and catastrophe. We offer this book as a nudge.

H. L.

M. B.

Contents

Section I. What Does It Mean to Be Human?

1. <i>These are our children</i>	3
2. <i>On becoming human</i>	8
3. <i>Human beings are social</i>	18
4. <i>The functioning of group intelligence</i>	35
5. <i>How human beings learn</i>	58
6. <i>Change as continuous creation</i>	71

Section II. What Does It Mean to Live in Mid-Twentieth Century?

7. <i>Teaching the new fundamentals</i>	87
8. <i>Some urgent needs of society</i>	107
9. <i>Modern life employs uniqueness</i>	120
10. <i>The vitamins of personality</i>	131
11. <i>The meaning of social health</i>	146

Section III. What Are the Dynamics of Learning to Live Together?

12. <i>Group life is to enhance individual dignity</i>	165
13. <i>The role of the adult in the child's life</i>	178
14. <i>The functioning of leadership</i>	201
15. <i>Processes of leadership in teaching</i>	225
16. <i>Roles of group membership</i>	247
17. <i>Using group discussion and role-playing</i>	266
18. <i>Characteristics of group living for various ages</i>	280
19. <i>Formation of groups</i>	297
20. <i>Physical conditions for group living</i>	320
21. <i>Quality of living in groups</i>	330

Contents

Section I. What Does It Mean to Be Human?

1	1. What are our abilities?
2	2. Our physical nature
10	3. Human beings are social
25	4. The development of child intelligence
50	5. The nature of the brain
71	6. Change in continuous development

Section II. What Does It Mean to Live in Society?

Chapter I

87	1. Exploring the new environment
107	2. Socially guided search of reality
120	3. Modern life: unique and secure
121	4. The meaning of personality
145	5. The meaning of social health

Section III. What Are the Problems of Living in

Five Regions?

161	16. Living with a common individual spirit
175	17. The role of the child in the social life
202	18. The formation of leadership
215	19. Problems of leadership in education
225	20. Role of group membership
235	21. Living group membership and individuality
245	22. Characteristics of groups living in various ways
267	23. Formation of groups
275	24. Factors essential for group living
285	25. Groups: what is group?

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SECTION I

What does it mean to be

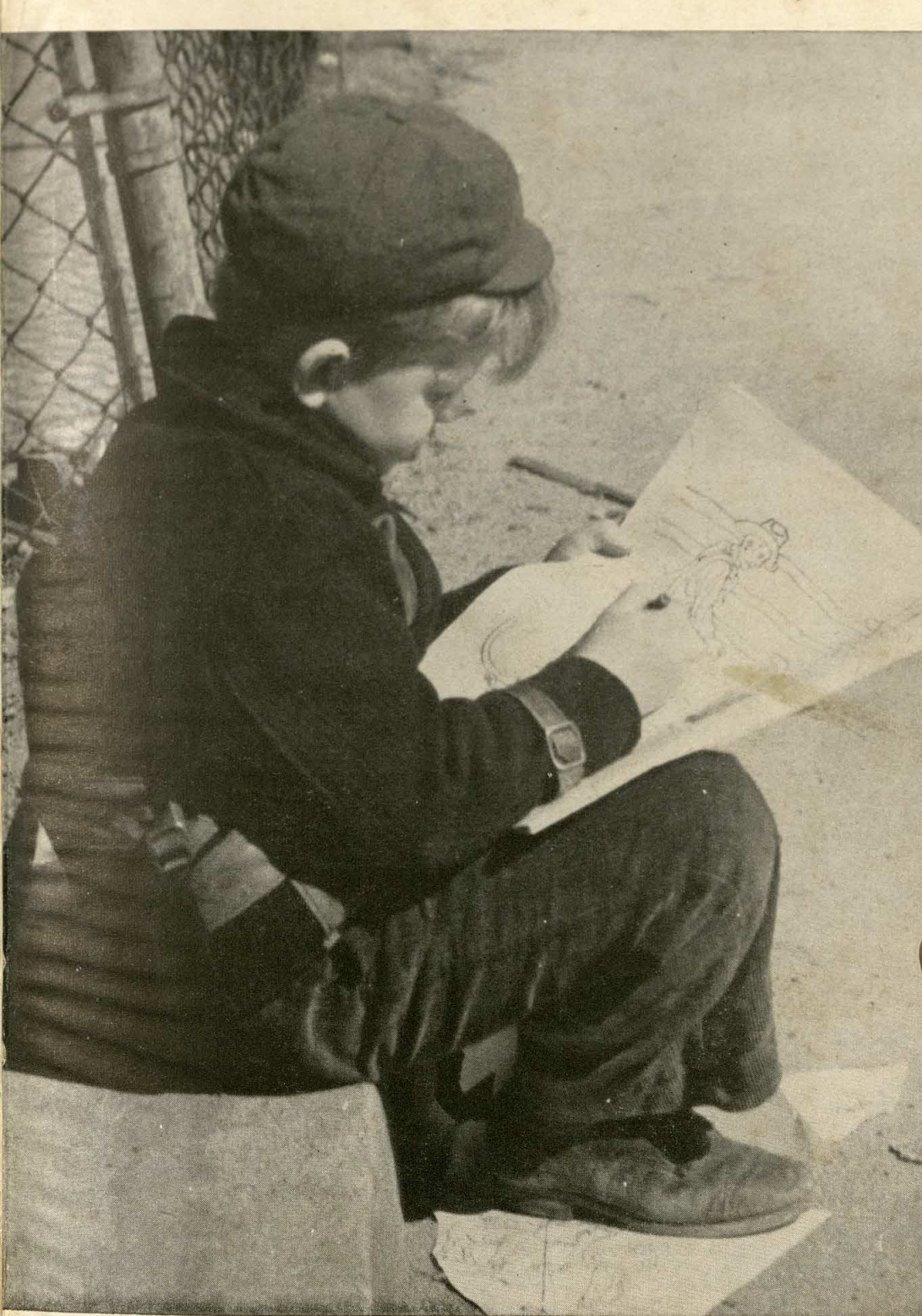
human?

SECTION I

**What does it mean to be
human?**

SECTION I

What does it mean to be
human?



Courtesy Robert Walker



Courtesy Robert Walker

1

These are our children

SUSAN came to school this morning without breakfast. Her dress is dirty, her shoes worn thin. She lives in one room with her three brothers, two sisters, and mother. Susan hasn't seen her father for six weeks. He will put in an appearance some night soon. He is likely to be drunk, give the kids a cuff, and demand his rights as the head of the house. Living for Susan is a matter of getting there first and grabbing her share of whatever the mother is able to provide. She has become skilled in dodging the outstretched hand; she has learned it nearly always brings pain. Susan wants desperately to be needed, to be valued because she is Susan, but she doesn't know how to seek such valuing. She has learned to distrust adults, to expect punishment.



John pleaded sick this morning in faint hope of staying home from school. Last night there was a family scene over his report card, which stated that he was not working up to capacity and that he tormented the small boys. John's father, a vice-president of the small town bank, wants his son to "carry on" in the family tradition. His son *must* do better than the children of his colleagues. All his life John's father has given him so much that he hasn't had to ask for or want things, nor has he had to share with others. The last words John heard as he slammed the front door behind him were, "You bring your books home so I can help you with your homework tonight." As John feels it now, living is a heavy hand pressing down harder and harder and a

sick feeling inside that he can't measure up to what his dad expects and demands of him.

Jane came dancing to the breakfast table with a chant, "See my new dress! See my new dress!" She picked it out herself when shopping with mother yesterday afternoon. Her daddy admired it as she ate her breakfast. Jane is one of the fortunate ones. Her mother and father love her with wisdom, and care for her with knowledge of what they do. But Jane is an only child. Right now she is having a bit of a time learning to share her toys and joys with others.

Billy was called at six-thirty. It was dark and he was sleepy. It took fifteen minutes to get him out of bed. By this time his mother had lost her temper. Billy had to be out in front by seven-thirty to catch the school bus and mother knew a good breakfast was important. She managed to get some scrambled eggs and a glass of milk down him before he had to run. Billy rides the bus each morning for an hour, sitting during the time when he is most full of energy, needs most to move. He wiggles and squirms and goes through the motions of playing ball. He frequently gets "bawled out" by the bus driver and arrives at school feeling ill-tempered and "picked on."

Mac got up on the dot of seven along with thirty other kids. He knows exactly the routine of his daily rising, the same every day. He eats breakfast with the thirty other boys and a house-mother who tries to give some attention to each. "Come straight home from school," he was admonished. His routine, the impersonality of his life, the rigid, institutionalized schedules of home and school have caused Mac to keep all his feelings bottled up. He sits in class, never causing any trouble, seldom speaking or responding. The teacher says, "Mac isn't interested in anything. He just sits."



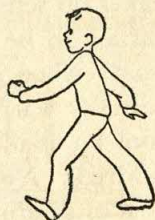
Shirley was late to school. She told the teacher that her mother is "sick" again today. Her books are lost. She wears a perpetual frown. No one pays much attention to her, for Shirley doesn't seem really to *be* in the classroom. Her thoughts seem elsewhere. Her mother has been in and out of mental institutions for the past five years. The neighbor kids say that

Shirley's mother is "crazy." This morning Shirley was awakened by her mother's sobbing. She heard her dad comforting her mother. Shirley pretended to be asleep when he came to call her for school. Another one of her mother's "sick spells" is coming on and she knows what that means.

Ed came into the room with two other boys. A good-looking lad whom the teacher describes as a "sweet kid," he has lots of friends, many interests, and a fine set of parents. The neighbors are glad Ed's folks live in their block. He is fun-loving, generous, and learns easily. He likes people and they like him. The routines of the schoolroom go along better when Ed is in the group. His teacher says, "I enjoy Ed. He's such a good kid. I'll remember him a long time."

Louise, unlike Ed, walked to school alone this morning as she has done every morning since moving into this new neighborhood. She is an attractive Puerto Rican girl whose parents have recently moved to a suburban community. The neighbors have not dropped in to see the newly-arrived family, nor do they speak when they meet on the street. Louise is puzzled and hurt. She had so many friends in her old home. Living would be so nice out here if only she had some friends. Why don't the girls like her? Why do the boys eye her in a way that makes her uneasy? She finds it hard to think about her school work because that lump keeps sticking in her throat.

These are our children. Susan, John, Jane, Billy, Mac, Shirley, Louise, Ed, and all the others—some thirty-two million last year. They come to school, and we who teach find them in groups. Yet each child is working out his own security system, his own individual responses and defenses as he grows with all the others. How do they get the way they are? After we find them in our schoolrooms, on our playgrounds, in our churches and community centers, what can we do to help them grow as sensitive, as strong, as competent, as responsible, as warmhearted as their own potentialities will allow?



That is what this book is all about. In a typical group of thirty children we find from five to seven who live with only one parent, from five to seven who are neglected at home, from one to three who come from homes where there is chronic illness in the family,

from one to three who are not living at home. These conditions suggest only the more dramatic dimensions of the teacher's task as he tries to help each one of the children become his most promising self. For we also find the Eds and the Janes—the happy, well-adjusted children who live in homes and communities that care for them and are wise in the caring. As Ed's teacher so aptly said, "Whatever the reasons for Ed's adjustment, both Ed and the community are fortunate."

We who teach are able to do little about changing the conditions of children. The significant role of the school is to *accept* children, to *understand* their circumstances, and upon this acceptance and understanding to create an environment which complements the rest of their living. We see this process as one of extending opportunities, of softening the ugly lines of poverty, degradation and neglect, and of strengthening the many positive features found in most homes.

We know that every child needs to have some mature, wise grown-up on his side. In our society every child must attend school. We can then make certain that every child *does* have fine grown-ups in his life by requiring that teachers be good with, for, and to children. We anticipate the day when the privilege of teaching means understanding the dynamics of how children grow, the human relationships essential for wholesome, productive growth, and the role of the teacher in this complicated process.

Teachers having this quality of understanding will not blame children for the ways they behave. For one reason, blaming makes no sense. No matter how the children behave, they have learned to be that way. For another reason, people can't think clearly when they are disposed to blame. Teachers have to be eternally wary about a disposition to punish a child for coming from an inadequate home or to punish parents through their children. No good is achieved by sending Susan home for a clean dress or sending a note home asking that Susan be sent to school with clean clothes and clean hands. John finds life no better if he has to stay in after school to make up the homework he failed to do because his folks were so mad at him about his poor report card that he couldn't study the night before. Nagging Billy about his fidgetiness does not make the long bus ride less irksome to him nor cause him to sit more quietly when he gets to school.

Today the home is even more crucial than when our country was young and communities were small enough to care for their children in neighborly fashion. The school has to be sure that it is doing all it can to strengthen the home. We must accept the child as he comes and we must meet those needs which are not being met at home or elsewhere. The adjustment of the child is the task of the school, not a prerequisite to the child's being in school.

Each child brings to school feelings, insights, and conceptions of people—especially of adults—through which he interprets his experiences. The teacher may have to take weeks or months of abuse from the child whose background is one of having to fight adults for his own way of living. The teacher may find Mac surly and stolid in the face of the teacher's attempts to interest him. He has to take this surliness if he hopes to break through it. He may find Louise defiant as she expresses her hurt. He has to accept that defiance as a storm-warning of trouble in her life. He may find Shirley irresponsible and undependable. This is her way of saying, "I need help—badly. Won't you help me?" Bad language, defiance, lack of interest, unusual quietness are cries for help just as surely as are tears or temper tantrums.



In this century we have learned a great deal about people. We know that the human personality is built by the individual's responses to life and particularly to other people. Teaching is the art of arranging conditions to challenge responses that aid in the development of rich, warm, sensitive human beings. Teachers must know that each personality is built of minute-by-minute, day-by-day responses to his experiences. In the chapters that follow we seek to present an overview of current knowledge and insights about human development, to examine the conditions and pressing new needs of our day, and to suggest tools and procedures for fostering the growth of teachers who are trying to teach on the growing edges of children's lives.

2

On becoming human

THIS chapter will sketch some of the dimensions of the growth of fine human beings. We ask ourselves, "What does it mean to be human and how do we get that way?" We describe some of the problems confronting people in the middle of the twentieth century and search for ways to settle them by human means. Let us set down here some of the more important principles and insights we have gained about the processes of becoming mature human beings. These principles are stated in this chapter as a theoretical orientation to the remainder of the book. We hope they will challenge the reader to seek answers to that most important of all questions, "What do I see, when I see a human being?"

World Is Relationships

Our world is people. When we speak of the world we refer to the behavior of folks. America is not land, mountains, rivers, and shores. It is relationships among people. Our aspirations and hopes concern possessions much less than values, status, prestige with other persons. Our deep anxieties concern not famine, pestilence, storm, and earthquake, but the behavior of other persons. Will an enemy drop an H-bomb among us? Will my boss fire me? Will that "dope" make a left turn? Will my child be a credit to me? The quality of our lives is distilled from the aspirations, anxieties, achievements, violence, warmth, delights, and fears of those with whom we live.

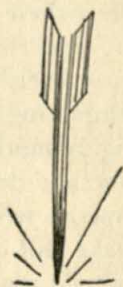
For centuries wise men have cautioned us against allowing our technical know-how to race too far ahead of our characters. Brock Chisholm, one of our more gifted students of human behavior,

declares that we have never had enough grown-up people in one place at one time to solve the pressing problems of mankind.

In this mid-twentieth century it seems clear that our only hope is to hold violence to a minimum, while we rear a generation of people who can recognize their problems and do something about handling them by using socially responsible, enlightened, active intelligence.

Human Behavior Purposeful

Ever since men began to wonder about themselves and how they got this way or that, they have argued the question, "Does human behavior make sense, or does it just happen?" We do not wish to weigh here the elements of this problem. We must accept the evidence seen in the biological world that man, along with all other organisms, seeks to preserve himself and to reproduce himself. Being able to recall and project his experience through imagination, a human being can achieve these purposes in varied and devious ways. He can also confuse himself so mightily as to believe that he is preserving himself by building a hydrogen bomb to destroy his neighbor lest he be destroyed by him—but we shall not solve that problem in this book. We shall suggest methods for attaining solutions to human behavior problems. We are disposed to accept a fact we cannot explain, but which is held by deans of the biological sciences and is well expressed by Russell:



We must regard directiveness as an attribute not of mind but of life. . . . Purposive activity as seen in its highly developed form in the intelligent behavior of man, is a specialized and elaborated kind of directive activity, concerned mainly with the mastery of his material environment.¹

Human Nature Learned

It is not natural to be human. We do not say that human behavior is unnatural, but that nature alone accounts for no distinctively human characteristics. Nature provides the body and its infinite potentialities for development; the limitless varieties of behavior, from one's manner of sneezing to his conception of the

¹ E. S. Russell, *The Directiveness of Organic Activities* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1945), pp. 178-79.

universe, result from learning. Neither physiologists nor philosophers have been able to explain the cause of baby's early smiles, but baby readily learns that his smile brings pleasing responses from the adults around him and learns to use it as one of the most effective means of winning and influencing friends throughout his life. The normal interruptions of the expiration of baby's breath result in elemental sounds such as ma-ma-ma, da-da-da, ba-ba-ba. All languages use these sounds for basic meanings and the elders, responding appropriately to them, teach the baby the rudiments of oral communication.

Differences Affect Learnings

Students of education must learn more about the structure of the body and about the differences among children that markedly affect their talents and usefulness and that condition their learning and their acceptance by other people. This will be more extensively treated in Chapter 5, but let us illustrate here by contemplating the differences in the experiences of two boys being highly motivated to make the basketball team. Johnny's inborn reaction time is unusually fast; Bill's is slow. No amount of practice will enable Bill to be a valuable player. Basketball will make Bill quite unhappy if he is motivated to care deeply about being a star, whereas Johnny is likely to make the team and find satisfaction in this accomplishment.

For a more school-like illustration consider Marjorie, whose vision is immature and thus far-sighted, and who must strain to focus upon close objects such as a page of printing. The strain of focusing, of which she is unaware and which will not be disclosed by common devices for testing vision, results in Marjorie's distaste for reading, and is apt to cause feelings of inferiority, especially if she is highly motivated to read.

Nature provides that some of us are aroused emotionally much more quickly than some others. The quick-tempered person growing up with people intolerant of flashes of feeling will quite probably develop negative attitudes toward those persons. For many children, sitting still is hard work. A growing muscle must be active! A child learns to dislike the situation that demands immobility and the persons who seem to be responsible for it.

All behavior, from digestion to contemplating the infinity of space, is the body in action. *Differences in bodily structure result*

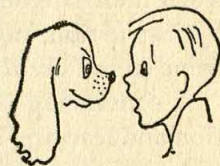
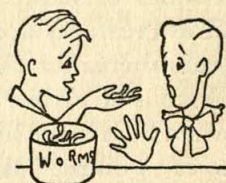
in differences in specific capacities, modes of behavior, and feelings about them.

The foregoing paragraph states that the human personality is the result of the individual's reactions to his experiences. No personality can be understood by centering attention upon the individual apart from his experiencing in his past, his present, and his expectancies. The experiencing of the great men of history is eloquent testimony to the infinite variety of capacities for being human.

Feelings Determine Quality of Experience

Experience cannot be understood merely by observing its overt, physical manifestations. Will a Yale and a Harvard man have comparable experiences should they sit side-by-side watching their football teams in their annual game? Compare the experiences of Huck Finn and Little Lord Fauntleroy in baiting a fishhook. The senior prom hardly means the same to the wallflower in a homemade dress as to the queen of the evening. Whatever is experienced is learned. Feelings determine the quality of experience.

The basic bodily responses are pleasantness and unpleasantness, the feeling aspects of acceptance and rejection. Feelings cannot be assigned nor demanded. No one knows what he teaches a child or says to a friend except as he senses the listener's inner feelings. Human qualities are learned only as they are accepted by the learner. Thus experience feeds upon itself. A child who has been frightened by a dog is likely to have his aversion deepened by being with dogs. A child who has learned to dislike arithmetic is most unlikely to learn to love it by extra assignments. One who has learned to distrust grown-ups is apt to continue to find them untrustworthy. Teen-agers who have had unpleasant experiences with textbooks usually find boredom in the most sprightly prose when it is required reading. According to ancient proverb, "We see what's behind our eyes; we hear what's behind our ears." The physical facts of this truth are most clearly set forth by Kelley.² In Chapter 17 of this book we assure the



² Earl C. Kelley, *Education for What Is Real* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948).

reader that feelings can be altered and offer suggestions for doing it.

Learning as Acculturation

All distinctively human behavior is learned. All kinds and degrees of behavior that distinguish men from whales, chickens, and chimpanzees are acquired after birth through experience.

Eagles see better than men do. No man can match the sensitivity of smell of a cur dog. The bat is born with his radar. A mocking bird makes a greater variety of sounds than can a human being. Man cannot duplicate the spider's web. Many creatures are stronger, swifter, hardier than man. The human organism is superior physiologically to that of other creatures in two particulars only: his hands with opposing thumbs, and his central nervous system. With his facile hands he can handle the materials of the earth. With his brain he can understand the earth as his home and, as a part of a universe, plan what he can do with it. Fish are built to swim; birds are built to fly; man is built to think.

Among the most significant of the provisions of the infinite wisdom of nature is the prolonged infancy of human beings. Most creatures are much more capable at birth and for several years thereafter than are babies. While the human's pattern of nervous structure and his total number of neurons are present when he is born, his nervous system is then developed only enough to carry on the basic vital functions of all mammals. The human nervous system develops in organization and extent after birth; development continues well into adult life.³

From those with whom they associate as they grow, children learn their language, manners, values, preferences, aversions—not by instruction, not by assigned lessons, but by a process we have come to call *acculturation*.

A convincing illustration of the difference between acculturation and learning by instruction is seen in the fact that few teachers of languages welcome any but brighter pupils into their classes; yet French morons use French quite passably. We might pause

³ R. W. Gerard, "Higher Levels of Integration," in *Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Systems*, ed. Robert Redfield (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942), pp. 67-87.

here to wonder at the appropriateness of teachers "correcting" the language usages children bring from their homes, thus by implication undermining the respect for the child's own language and for the ways of his family.

Among the most meaningful books of our time is Plant's *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* in which he helps us see that "in some way the forces of the pattern in which we live are of great dynamic value to the personality."⁴



"Nice people don't
say ain't."

Some educators have required many years to reach the insight Walt Whitman so eloquently stated in "There Was a Child Went Forth":

There was a child went forth every day,
And the first object he look'd upon, that object he became,
And that object became part of him for the day or a certain
part of the day,
Or for many years or stretching cycles of years.⁵

Recognition and acceptance of the concept of acculturation require adults—whether teachers, parents, neighbors, or professional educators—to modify methods and goals employed when children were thought to be animals to be tamed and trained, clay to be molded, wax tablets to be impressed into patterns by experience and instruction. Rearing children and youth today is seen to be maintaining an atmosphere of human relationships that select, cherish, and nurture the most promising kinds of living. The good school today is a collection of the best of the cultural factors that a community can provide for its young. It is a place and a set of circumstances in which the child grows among his society's best tools, methods of communication, social usages, and ideals.

In order to learn to write and to read a child must grow up among people who communicate by writing and in a society in which the individual can so communicate regardless of his own

⁴ James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937), p. vii.

⁵ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Aventine Press, Inc., 1931), p. 372.

particular skill in writing and reading. To value freedom and human dignity he must grow among people who respect his personality and, by being respectable, command his respect. The child will learn to be responsible as an adult by being genuinely responsible for matters deemed important by him and his friends as a child. No child will learn to cherish democracy in an atmosphere of totalitarianism. Authoritarianism is no more tolerable to the human spirit in home or school than in state or nation.

Method of Democracy

Let us reiterate here that this book is written to help educators who hold to the democratic ideal that all men are created equal in right to dignity and pursuit of happiness as expressed so nobly by Abraham Lincoln, "As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*." This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

We conceive the method of democracy to be a group of persons planning and working together to enhance the quality of living of each one of them. We conceive this to be the heart of the method of education in and for democracy. This book is meant to hold little of value for persons who believe the role of the school to be the determination of who will be master and who must accept mastery, or for those who believe it proper for some people to live "off of" rather than "with" people. Emerging from behind the mountains of the world today is the determination of all men to live in freedom and dignity.

Nothing good can be built into human personality by force. Children can be taught to fear, rage, hate, destroy against their will; they must be led and persuaded to enjoy, love, build. We like the statement of Ogden:

It is not possible to teach by coercion; the good will of the pupil is always essential. The pupil's desire to express, and thus to relieve himself of desire, is the means which the teacher must somehow shape into an appropriate form of action. The criterion of appropriateness is always found in the pupil, and one can do nothing better with him than his own desire and satisfaction will permit. For this reason teaching is a work of art, and the teacher an artist who engages the aesthetic impulses of his pupils. These impulses

are to gain something of value, both as an end and as the proper means whereby the end is achieved.⁶

The artist-teacher employs the purposes and impulses of the child for satisfying, productive living as an immediate end as well as for the building of an ever more satisfying and productive personality.

Since the peculiarly human feature of man, his central nervous system, develops after birth and since its structure and functioning develop through the stimulation and interpretation of experience, the child becomes more and more the creation of those with whom he associates as he grows. Abundant evidence shows clearly that no human qualities develop apart from human influences. During recorded time a few children have been discovered who were reared by animals apart from the nurture of other human beings. These children have been devoid of human qualities and were impervious to teaching.

Human Behavior Social

All distinctively human behavior is social, involves other people. The mature human being reflects upon his experiences and contemplates his activities in terms of other persons. The essence of the world's great religions and of the deepest insights of the philosophers teach concern for more and more people, more and more remote from the individual. The distinctive human activities—valuing, aspiring, planning—are carried on in consideration of others. Someone has said that civilization began when some people first sat in a circle and took turns talking. The development of civilization has been, and must continue to be, a process of learning to work together, to divide labor and specialize in meeting the needs of people. No one long remains human in isolation from other humans. This concept is more fully developed in the following chapter.



Traditionally the school has insisted upon children learning in isolation. Cooperation, helping each other with arithmetic, read-

⁶ R. M. Ogden, "The Education of the Whole Child," *Educational Trends* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, April-May, 1938), p. 19.

ing, or history, is a sin in many schools. In them, direct communication among pupils is forbidden. Indeed, children are often set against each other in contention for gratifications. It seems to us most urgent that parents and teachers examine closely the basic motives they employ in dealing with children in order to identify and eliminate those anti-social motives built all too commonly into character. It is hard for a child to understand why he should try to get more right answers than his friend gets on a test, but should not try to get either more candy from the bag or the biggest piece of cake from the plate.

Motive the Basic Material of Character

We have come to understand that the basic material of character is motive. A child growing up in an atmosphere of excessively conflicting motives will not become a stable individual. One who has been highly motivated to gain satisfaction from being best, even "better than," other people can readily gratify this urge by declarations of superiority to women, Negroes, Presbyterians, foreigners. This motive is commonly taught in schools.

The behavior of the individual is a function of circumstances. However a child behaves he has learned, and that way seems then best to him. Good homes, good communities rear good children. A "bad" child cannot come from a home or a community good for *him*. Locking up the bad boys has never changed conditions. Disorder, degradation of behavior among people must be seen as evidence that all is not well in the lives of these people. Juvenile delinquency and vandalism result from the community's neglect of children, from its failure to provide salutary circumstances for them. Fortunately most neglected children do not become aggressively anti-social. Social usages, customs, morals, tools of communication develop in social situations as they bring gratification to individuals.

Scientists are beginning to see the validity of the ancient insight, "Man lives not by bread alone." Lacking needed amounts and kinds of food, a child's body grows crookedly. The effects of malnutrition of the body vary from person to person—all of the effects are imperfections of the body and its functions. Similarly, the human personality suffers from malnutrition. It requires nourishment, sunlight, ventilation. The effects of deprivation of

the personality vary from person to person; all are defects in the functioning of the personality. These defects impose burdens upon other people by rendering the individual ineffective in finding his place among them. The effects of deprivation of the spirit are discussed in Chapter 11. They and the conditions which produce them must be understood as the real bases of human maladjustment. Dealing with the effects of deprivation in clinics as problems of the individual alone can never raise the level of group behavior.

Group Life Enhances Individual Living

We have perhaps given disproportionate emphasis to the quality of living of individuals. It is our thesis that group enterprise and group life make sense only as they enhance the quality of individual experience. We spell this out in Chapter 12. The aim of social life is to provide good living for people. To be an effective group member is not to give up individual gratifications; it is to increase them in number and duration.

Pioneer men and women were old at forty. They toiled from dawn to dark to achieve mere existence, or they enslaved other humans. By division of labor, specialization, tools, and organization, man has become so productive that he needs to work but one-third his waking hours to live comfortably and zestfully.

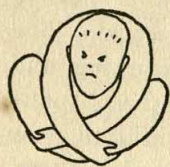
Society's great task is to develop people who can work and live together peacefully in a complex, interdependent world. The qualities of personality and the ways of organizing, working, and living essential to this way of life are set forth in the chapters that follow. These qualities can be learned only as children grow in social circumstances that cherish, value, and employ them. The school today that genuinely seeks to grow children for this real, practical world is a group of persons who cherish the unique concerns, capacities, and hopes of individuals working together to enhance the quality of living of each one.

3

Human beings are social

OUR associations with other human beings are continuously making us what we are becoming. From the infant's first squawk until man's last breath, his life is lived in a matrix of people. The significant processes of valuing, of sharing, of giving and taking, of imagining, and of realizing joys and sorrows are essentially people-centered.

Each of us was cared for by many persons, or we would not be here to read these pages. No infant can grow to maturity without the care of many adults, nor can he become human unless he learns to care for others. And the quality of the caring makes important differences among the qualities of people.



*"All wrapped up
in myself."*

We are all born completely selfish. The small infant has no thought of his mother's comfort as he sucks her aching breasts. As he screams at two in the morning, he has no concern for his dad's tough day at the office. Because—along with all other creatures—he has this inborn quality of selfishness some of his ancestors believed him to be born in original sin. Our task in becoming human beings is to expand the strong concern for self to caring more deeply and sensitively about more and more people.

The isolated human being just doesn't exist. The few recorded accounts of children who have lived apart from human association for the first few years of their lives tell of creatures who did not speak an intelligible language, who did not walk upright, who did not eat as humans are accustomed to eating, and who could not be later taught human ways.

The two wolf-children were more like wolves than people.¹ They howled at night, ate raw meat, depended primarily on crawling for locomotion, and took to the woods for shelter and protection.² Those children who have had limited associations with humans, such as the child who had been kept alone in an attic for eight years, have been underdeveloped physically and lacking in human language. This child was reported to look "less like a child than some weird variety of furless monkey."³ Growing up with savages, one becomes a savage. Lillian Smith tells of two Indian children who were captured by her great grandfather, "The wild things bit him and scratched at his eyes and slipped between his legs and tripped him, but somehow he held on to them. . . . It was like taming a pair of swamp cats."⁴

As we respond to others, we build our humanness. Parents lean over the crib to coo at the baby. Why do they coo instead of reciting him "the Bill of Rights"? Because he can coo back. As the baby responds to his mother's cooing, he begins to feel wanted, a feeling that is a part of feeling human. He is beginning to emerge from his selfishness, for he is accepting some responsibility for the feelings of others. He sees mother smile as she listens to him coo and a sense of well-being pervades his life. The quality of his personality is being shaped as he feels satisfied and feels that those around him are also satisfied. Or people see a howling brat and say, "Only a mother could love that child," thus articulating a great truth—that we learn to care for the people for whom we care. We are coming to understand that the term "care for" does not have a double meaning.



Each of us participates in this process of being created by our associations. As we put together all the moments of our living, we are continuously forming attitudes, values, meanings, and ways of doing, thinking, and feeling. All these are built from

¹ A. L. Gesell, *Wolf Child and Human Child* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941).

² W. N. Kellogg and L. A. Kellogg, *The Ape and the Child* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), pp. 3-7.

³ *Time Magazine*, December 8, 1952, p. 35.

⁴ Lillian Smith, *The Journey* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1954), p. 59.

those with whom we live. Let us analyze how this socializing process takes place and see some of the methods of becoming a fine human being.

Continuous Procreation Unique to Human Beings

Man is the only creature who reproduces any time during the year. This biological provision for the birth of the young at all times has kept man everlastingly at the business of caring for others. Since he is not limited to a season for mating, man has the opportunity of making love and thus the responsibility of loving—caring for—others as a continuous part of living. The gratification that comes from acts of loving affects the personality of man, making of him a being with the need to love and care for others. We come then to know love as a human quality.

When a family gets started, mother and father are stuck for a while. Nature and the law insist that their children have primary and constant claim to attention. Persistent thought and care are required for a period of years—long enough to form the habit of caring. In *all* cultures birth causes reorganization of family units, readjustments of family budgets, restructuring of work and play activities, redivision of labor. Mother can no longer give all her time to cooking the meals. Others must assume some of her duties. Older brothers and sisters are called



upon to help care for the younger children, to "pitch in" with dishwashing, cleaning, and food preparation, and care for the newborn. Neighbors contribute as they can. Father reports to the office hollow-eyed after having been up with a croupy child. As Carl Sandburg says of his father's share in the birth and care of the young of his family, "When the midwife had

left after her two or three days of attendance, the husband was the night nurse performing the needful for his wife."⁵

The feelings developed by caring for the newborn is eloquently demonstrated in a study of *Father Relations of War-Born Children*. Those children born while their fathers were separated from their families were less well loved by their fathers than

⁵ Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Strangers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953), p. 83.

children born when the father was non-separated. One non-separated father said, "When the second one came, the first became much closer to me, I took over a lot of his care . . ." One war-separated father had this to say, "When the second baby was born I did a lot for him as I'd missed it with the first child and this gave my wife more time for the first-born."⁶

In primitive cultures we find rigid taboos and patterns of social behavior which are observed in connection with births. Some cultures isolate the expectant mothers for a period of weeks or months, thus denying all social interaction. Specific ways of caring for the young are characteristic of all cultures. The rigidity of the taboos imposed by some of these cultures has a profound effect upon the personality development of the young. Complex rituals, taboos, and customs distinguish each culture from all others. These ritualistic ceremonies lend much of the richness which we appreciate in cultures different from our own, especially in the more primitive ones. We recommend writings of Mead,⁷ Whiting,⁸ and Hallowell,⁹ who have written extensively about the effects of early socializing processes on adjustment and personality.

Babies are great socializers—both before and after birth. Families and neighborhood groups find that anticipation of the birth of a child creates a vital force inviting friendly concern and acts of helpfulness. As we observe the faces of "expecting" mothers congregated on the stoops of enormous housing projects, we see that the impersonality of the city has been penetrated. The expectant are sharing a vital life experience and gaining comfort from the sharing. These responses to our neighbors and the adjustments which must be made in families result in changed behavior. Let us illustrate by a couple we know.

Mr. and Mrs. Jackson had lived more than a year in an apartment in New York without becoming acquainted with any of their

⁶ Lois Meek Stolz and collaborators, *Father Relations of War-Born Children* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954), p. 71.

⁷ Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1935).

⁸ John W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

⁹ A. Irving Hallowell, "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variable in a Primitive Society," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 9, 1938, pp. 25-47.

neighbors. After Mrs. Jackson became pregnant, her doctor insisted that she get out of the apartment, take walks, sit in the sun. She found that other women in the apartment were also expecting.



Her neighbors became interested in her and she in them. The two-year-old living at the end of the hall became a fascinating personality and his mother a valuable source of information. On those days when Mrs. Jackson felt so ill she thought she couldn't get through the day, her neighbors dropped by to cheer her up, to make a cup of tea. Many afternoons she joined the mothers who had taken their little ones out on the stoop for a bit of hoped-for sunshine or

chatted in the nearby park.

Mrs. Jackson received solicitous inquiries and much unsolicited advice from her friends. She found herself observing more closely the small babies who lived near her. She made friends with a number of women living in her building and had a speaking acquaintance with many more. She found many shared her anxieties and sought companionship, even as she did.

When Mr. Jackson came home in the evening, neighbors whom he met in the elevator or at the incinerator were friendly. The laundry room turned out to be quite a place to visit. Yes, his life was changing, too. This couple found the depth of their own experiencing together had an added dimension as they talked and planned and worked together for the birth of their child.

We wouldn't want to lead the reader to believe that the social significance of birth is all positive. Some mothers lose their health. New financial responsibilities may be so heavy as to cause tensions. Some young couples resent the curtailment of pleasures. Sometimes the mother and father have conflicting ideas about child rearing, or the grandparents' notions may be a source of irritation. The social life of humans is changed by birth, however, and, correspondingly, the structure of human society is changed because birth is an everyday affair affecting each family at a different time rather than a seasonal occurrence affecting all families at the same time. More deliberate attention needs to be given to this peculiarly human characteristic to discover the subtle, lasting effects that this phenomenon has on our social structure.

We like particularly the song "Soliloquy"¹⁰ from *Carousel* because it catches the feelings that come to a prospective dad who is in the process of realizing what it means to be a parent.

My son Bill
I will see that he's named after me
I will.
My boy, Bill
He'll be tall and tough as a tree
Will Bill.
Like a tree he'll grow
With his head held high
And his feet planted firm on the ground.
And you won't see nobody dare to try
To boss him or toss him around.

When we think of the kind of social experiencing, maturing, and growth in sharing that the approach of a baby has brought to our friends, and then consider that more than 200,000 babies are born every day in the world, we get a glimpse of the significance of birth's being an everyday affair. Every month in the United States a sizable cityful of babies is born. Families today are beginning younger and including more children. These thoughts help us catch the social significance of human birth.

Long Infancy Encourages Social Development

Human beings require care. They require care to be born, to keep alive, to grow, and to mature into fine adults. They are more helpless and helpless for a longer period of time than the young of any other creature. The young chimpanzee in the zoo is far more self-sufficient than a baby the same age. We like John Fiske's statement about the significance of the long, dependent period of human infancy, "It can be shown that man's progressiveness and the length of his infancy are but two sides of one and the same fact; . . . It is babyhood that has made man what he is."¹¹



Before birth the child's world is fluid. He is forced out into a world of hard surfaces, unyielding proportions, rough edges.

¹⁰ "Soliloquy." Copyright 1945 by Williamson Music Inc., New York.

¹¹ John Fiske, *The Meaning of Infancy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1883), p. 2.

He comes from and is received by a human being, completely dependent upon those around him. The meanings of *his* world begin to be formed by the kind of care which others give him during this time of dependency and the way in which the care is given. The care received brings emotional responses from the baby, and the care is given with feelings accompanying it. These feelings are the baby's emotional climate.

The quality of that climate, *the way it feels to the baby*, determines in large part whether he will grow up to be a "stinker" or a "great guy." His emotional equipment is complete at birth. The baby responds with all of himself to the feel of the hands that pick him up, to the sound of the voice, to the tension of the body. The question of breast-feeding versus bottle-feeding is not so much one of comparative nutrition as of the warmth of the relationship in giving and receiving the nourishment. A baby who is held affectionately as he sucks the bottle has much advantage over the baby whose mother resentfully offers him the breast. Lewin states that the child is probably able to "perceive and to distinguish the friendliness and unfriendliness of another person at an earlier age than he is able to distinguish the pattern of physical lines in a countenance which expresses these social attitudes." ¹²

If the child's world consists of tension, neglect, resentful care, uncertainty, and abuse, he will become a different human being—in physical structure as well as personality—from the one he might have been had his world consisted of thoughtful, responsive care, tenderness, assurance, comfort, security, and love.

During the long infancy period, the baby develops his capacity of *foresight* into the ability of predicting what his world will be like. If the baby's experiences with others have been consistently satisfying to him, he begins to build confidence in this strange, new world. His experience tells him that if he cries someone will come to find out why, that mother may leave him but she will return. In short, he begins to build a sense of predicability about his world. With this sense comes confidence. He foresees that he will receive the care and attention which he needs and demands. The confidence this feeling gives him is built into

¹² Kurt Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science*, ed. Dorwin Cartwright (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 130.

his personality structure for life. He can, as a consequence, stand severe shocks without having his inner security shaken.

The long period of human infancy, then, is a time when the baby begins to learn what it is to be human. At first he uses his life processes to breathe, to take in food, to eliminate waste. He uses breathing for crying and soon learns that he gets responses from crying. His crying makes things happen. Perhaps the mother picks up the infant and cuddles him until he stops. Perhaps the infant is left to "cry it out," or he may receive harsh words and a spanking.¹³

The child learns his own inner feelings as he cries. We must sense the emotional content of the cry if we are to know what the child is learning. We have all heard a child cry in rage and have been aware that he is early learning anger and hostility. If we consider this a signal threatening healthy development, we attempt to find the cause of his rage and assuage it. Likewise we've heard a child force crying and again we must assess what that child feels. Has he become entranced with the rhythmic expelling of sound or does he need additional fondling? The feelings the child has about the care he receives are built into his personality structure. This we must learn if we expect to teach children. Man's thinking, feeling, and acting result from *all* his human associations. We learn only those reactions that we select as important for learning.

One fine lady who thought she was "doing good" found herself teaching Mexican children. She tried very diligently to win their confidence and love but the children just didn't respond. When she asked one little girl, "Why don't you children like me?" she was told, "Well, meesy, when you touch us, you shiver inside." We don't fool children. They know our feelings for they feel them.

As the infant grows and becomes less dependent, his social needs change. Every age brings with it certain tasks that must be learned if further development is to occur. These we call the developmental tasks of growing up. The baby, for instance, must learn to control his bodily functions, to coordinate his muscles so as to grasp, to walk, to talk. Havighurst and others of the Uni-

¹³ *Genesis of Emotions*, produced by Dr. Rene A. Spitz, silent film (New York: University Film Library, New York University).

versity of Chicago Human Development Center tell us that the developmental tasks of human beings are nearly all rooted in social responses. The physiological stability—that is, the achieving of a stable chemical state within the organism—of the infant and the child below five is the only purely biological developmental task which he faces. In discussing this task, Havighurst says, "As far as we know, its accomplishment is not noticeably affected by social demands and by cultural variations in the environment, although it is certainly not improbable that social learnings and emotional experience may affect the achievement of physiological stability to a limited degree."¹⁴

Home Affects Quality of Human Beings

Mom and dad, brothers and sisters, and sometimes Grandma or Uncle Joe are the ones that matter to the child during the first five years of his life. During this time the child learns the developmental tasks of talking, walking, controlling his body functions,



eating solid foods, distinguishing between male and female, and beginning to learn right from wrong in his world. The parents' attitudes and values, their demands, their feelings toward themselves and the child, their accepted social understandings, and their ways of treating the child as he learns these tasks, shape the child's personality to such a degree that

many of his characteristics at five are likely to continue throughout his life. The child is likewise affecting the parents' attitudes and values. One mother said, "The main thing my children have done for me, is to give my life a sort of direction. They've given me a goal to raise them as effectively as I can. . . . They have forced me to a closer examination of what is important in life."¹⁵

Other parents have become "sour-pusses" or expert naggers.

The parents' love for the child and their understanding of his need to be a free personality are crucial during the early years. When the doctors of Great Britain were asked to write directions for the Child Care Centers established for the children of London

¹⁴ Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), p. 15.

¹⁵ Dorothy Barclay, "What Parenthood Does for—and to—Parents," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, January 25, 1953.

who were being taken away from their homes during the bombings of the last war, they began by saying that the basic needs of children are "sound mothering and the freedom to play."

The film *Grief*¹⁶ describes the effects of the lack of motherly love and freedom to move about on the child less than two years old. These infants had the best physical care that a hospital could give them. They were children whose mothers had no other place to leave them. All the hospital could do was to put them in a crib and give them regular, adequate physical attention. They lacked love. They lacked the chance to play, to move about at will. They failed to grow as other children grow. They became frightened, cringing infants who burst into weeping whenever a stranger appeared. They literally were starving for love. The grief felt by these infants deterred their growth and limited their emotional responses to those of fear and anger. Today it is believed that almost all illnesses may have some psychosomatic origins which have developed from inner feelings and tensions. The beginnings of these feelings usually reach back to infancy.

The medical profession today recognizes that the need of the baby for loving, even during the first few days after birth, is a greater need than complete freedom from germs. Many hospitals now leave the baby with the mother most of the time instead of placing him in a sterile room. Some physicians place so much importance on the quality of social relationships before and after birth and on the partnership feeling between husband and wife regarding the birth process itself that provisions are made for the husband to be aware of the successive stages of labor and to be present to comfort the wife. This helps develop a quality of social relationships which strengthens family ties throughout marriage.¹⁷

School Represents Expansion of Social World

Suddenly at age four, five, or six the child's world becomes much larger. He goes to school. He finds himself one day in a room with thirty or more other children approximately his age.

¹⁶ *Grief*, produced by Dr. Rene A. Spitz, silent film (New York: New York University Film Library, New York University).

¹⁷ Dr. Herbert Thoms in collaboration with Laurence Roth, *Understanding Natural Childbirth* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950).

We call them his peers. This is the child's first introduction to a peer culture. Prior to this time he has associated chiefly with



adults. School makes tremendous demands upon these small children. Often they are expected to make immediate adjustments. One of the consuming tasks of the child entering school for the first time is to learn to live with a number of others his own age who want to play with the toys he wants, and who demand the attention of the one adult whose attention he also wants. This task of getting along with his own associates is a continuing, never-ending

task that takes on new dimensions as the human being grows. It is an individual and a group task. The major problems of the world today are of the same origin—learning to live in harmony with others who want the same things we want.



As soon as the child starts school, the teacher becomes a significant factor in his social development. Responses and adjustments to adults outside the home require much of the child. Then, too, he has to continue learning those tasks of preschool days.

Ideas about right and wrong become much clearer. He begins to develop a scale of values. Games become important. He learns the skills of writing, reading, and figuring—all social skills, for their purpose is primarily communicative. He also learns how important the teacher thinks these skills are.

He is expected to learn how to get along with his own peers in much more complicated social situations. He learns the roles peculiar to his sex—that a boy doesn't cry, that he must be strong and active and take the initiative; that girls are expected to be neat and clean and less aggressive than the male. Notions about being a "sissy," or a "tomboy" take on real meaning.

The child forms attitudes toward authority, toward himself, toward his family, his school, and other institutions, toward boys as boys and girls as girls, toward a complex range of factors which we call our culture. And the teacher affects all these learnings in one way or another. If the teacher feels that



"Crybaby!
Crybaby!"

children who read fluently are more worthy than those who are having difficulty in reading, this feeling influences the child and his feelings about himself, reading, other children, and grown-ups.

During these early school years, children begin to learn that most of life is lived in groups, that group action requires a high quality of social insight and of practical know-how. Given favorable conditions, they become astute in getting along. Ways of settling their differences and getting important things done are worked out. They learn how to take care of the "smart aleck," the "tattle-tale," and the "show-off."

If the school situation is not favorable during the growing years, children develop attitudes which have negative consequences throughout their lives. In an investigation of a group of boys and girls who were studied from the time that they were ten until they were sixteen, Schoeppe discovered that the level of achievement on certain tasks (sex role task, emotional independent task, conscience morality value task, age-mate task, and intellectual skills task) "is practically fixed by age thirteen, while there is a noticeable amount of fluctuation of performance on these tasks between ages ten and thirteen."¹⁸ We must work early if we are to affect learnings in these areas of social endeavor. Another conclusion reached by Schoeppe is that "performance on developmental tasks is related to personality primarily through emotional rather than intellectual factors. That is, attitudes toward people and certain other qualities of personality that are emotional in nature appear to be most firmly associated with developmental task performance."¹⁹

The findings of these researches tell us that the social attitudes of boys and girls are rather firmly fixed by age thirteen and that emotional factors are of primary importance in the fixing process. Feelings determine behavior. These conclusions suggest that the practices of the elementary and junior high schools influence later adult behavior even more than we formerly believed. Adolescent behavior is an articulation of earlier attitudes.

The adolescent period is commonly accepted as the time when youth tries out and settles upon methods of relating to other people. At this period, youth becomes quite anxious about its

¹⁸ Robert Havighurst, *Human Development and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), p. 322.

¹⁹ Havighurst, p. 326.

own identification. "Who am I?" is an impelling concern. Consequently, adolescents seek identification with other people to fortify themselves as individuals. If they do not have opportunities to form and to participate in groups with which they identify and which society sanctions, they will form groups that society may not sanction. Thus we have our cliques, clubs with undue concern for exclusion and defiance of adult respectability, and our street gangs.

Certainly, we know that nothing is quite so important to the adolescent as "standing well" with his own group. Identification with a peer group is the source of the major frustrations and joys of youth. Feelings about ourselves are so crucial at this period that many of us retain throughout life strong feelings about many incidents of our own adolescence. The identification theme of adolescents has given us many works of art. *Member of the Wedding* tells of a teen-age girl who planned to accompany her brother on his wedding trip because she had to belong. *Bernadine* pictures a group of adolescent boys who construct a common world of their own, a world in which the glamorous figure of Bernadine glides in and out of their lives. We all remember with zest *Seventeen*, *Catcher in the Rye*, and you name your own!

The Expanding Social World

The social nature of our experiences continues to expand and become more complex as we grow in years. Successful social adjustment at each age is important for subsequent adjustment. Modern living is replete with people who have failed to make these adjustments. We see, for instance, the outwardly cool, self-contained women of the city walking their dogs which they treat *as if* they were humans. They talk to them. They crochet blankets for them. They even sleep with them. We see these women extravagantly lavishing upon animals their need for caring. And one wonders what kind of adjustments they have made to living with people.



As we see the audience identification with Lola, the immature wife in *Come Back, Little Sheba*, we wonder how well we have

learned to live with our fellow human beings. We wonder more as we note the high incidence of illnesses that stem from emotional disturbances—that is, psychosomatic illnesses; as we note the unsatisfactory adjustment of many of our youth as they register their protests against themselves and against society in what we call juvenile delinquency.

Thus far we have tried to illuminate the thesis that growing up is a social process; that man's thinking, feeling, and acting is a result of his human associations; that even our physiological development is affected by social learnings; and that the feelings we have about ourselves and about others are the determining factors in our behavior. Mind and personality are social products. They are created from the raw stuff of experiences with others, and they are constantly in the process of being created. They may be created in the image of doing for others, doing to others, doing with others, believing in others, doubting others, depending on others, helping others. Our experiences shape our images.

Significance of Being Social

Let's ask ourselves the deeper meanings of being social. Words that we use casually and perhaps carelessly are keys to those meanings—*responsibility, purpose, consequences, responding, caring*. Caring is the crucial word in discovering these meanings, for caring is the quality of feeling that develops from a genuine experience of meeting the needs of other people. Caring is human. We are saying, too, that caring is responding, that it has consequences, that caring implies purpose and responsibility directed toward satisfying human needs.

Human life seems to be a process of reaching out and taking in, of continuous interacting. Plant²⁰ pictures the process as an envelope surrounding each of us through which pass back and forth on two-way lanes the experiences of life and the feeling-effects of experiencing—the responses coming in and the responding going out. We are selective in the responses we admit, for each of us develops from his associations qualities unique to his own envelope. No two are identical. The wholeness of the process of responding is its significant quality. If we understand the

²⁰ James Stuart Plant, *The Envelope* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950).

process as a continuous responding that changes as a result of incoming responses, we begin to sense the importance of others in our lives. Let us illustrate by a story we heard recently. We will tell it as it was told to us.

I came to a salesgirl wishing to exchange a lampshade, but my past experiences told me that she would either refuse me or rebuke me because I had made the original purchase months earlier. I was all set to *defend* myself for wanting to exchange the purchase and for expecting the store to comply with my wishes. My response was set to be defensive. This I have learned from past experiences of returning unsatisfactory merchandise. But the clerk took the lampshade with a smile. I was surprised and I felt my defenses tottering a bit. She said courteously, "Do you wish to exchange the shade, or do you wish your money back?" I found myself wanting to be reasonable about the whole matter. I was surprised to note that I smiled at the clerk and began to examine other lampshades although I had gone into the store expecting to demand my money back. The clerk's responding to me as she did not only affected and altered my responding but my responses. I felt different and feeling different I could not respond as I had expected to. I bought another lampshade.

Parents responding to the needs of their children and teachers responding to the needs of their groups of boys and girls become different human beings. Some become more social, more sensitive, more aware of the feelings and needs of their associates; others become resentful, embittered, and nagging.

This pattern of interacting is easy to see in the newborn infant. He cannot be ignored and live. He seems to be just a stomach with certain appendages. He gets people up at all kinds of hours. Panicky moments occur. When he is wet, he must be changed. When he learns to walk, there is endless running after him. These experiences sometimes result in family quarrels about child rearing. Other times they unite the family in moments of fun and pride and awe. In the long run and for most people, responding to the infant enhances living. We become more responsive because we must respond more deeply. In caring for, we learn to care.

Some of the consequences of human associations are known to man. Man is aware—conscious—of some of the consequences his actions have upon others. In this way he differs from other creatures. Dewey says: "Mature and better equipped beings are aware of the consequences of their acts upon those of the young. They not only act conjointly with them, but they act in that especial kind of association which manifests interest in the consequences of their conduct upon the life and growth of the young."²¹



Because we can predict consequences, we have a means of controlling our behavior. We foresee consequences and imagine their effects upon those for whom we care. Our democratic faith is rooted in this process. Our purposes and our responsibilities are to make possible a better life for all people. These purposes must necessarily shape the choices that man makes.

Man has choices and he is able to foresee the consequences of his choices. As he assesses the consequences of his actions upon himself and upon others, he develops a conscience. So we see that our values, our sense of morals, are social responses. As Homer Smith says, "He who is sensitive to shame will not be insensitive to the judgment of his fellows, careless of decorum, unappreciative of convention. He who through imagination can suffer another's pleasures and pains—his fear, anger, pride, and even his prejudices and hatreds—will build a family, a tribe, and nation, and fabricate a moral code."²²

One of our important tasks is to assess our cultural influences that thwart social development, so that those whom we teach may have the chance to grow fully in their associations with others. We shall have to look to the school itself for many thwarting practices and policies. We shall have to ask ourselves, What do report cards do for children's feelings and responses? Do they encourage a spirit of helpfulness, confidence, and trust? Do they teach chil-

²¹ John Dewey, *Intelligence in the Modern World*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1939), p. 366.

²² Homer W. Smith, *Man and His Gods* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952), p. 442.

Does the child care for them and are sensitive to their problems? We shall have to ask ourselves, What does grouping by ability do toward developing socially mature, sensitive human beings? Does it cause us to cherish differences and people from them? Does it cause self-suspicion and worry in one's own eyes and the eyes of one's friends? What is a child's feeling response to such feeling, to having his work corrected?

We shall have to ask ourselves what standardization and routine approaches do toward fostering social development. Does requiring members of a group to read from the same book at the same time tend to build appreciation of others and of the world's literature? Or the regulations of lining up and passing cause us to want to know as little about? Does comparing and rating make us more friendly? These are a few of the questions that teachers must consider as they understand that school is itself probably the most influential socializing process in our culture outside the home.

As we raise these questions, let us be mindful of how the child feels about these ways of managing his life. Let us devise ways early in his schooling "to get him in on the act"; for his feelings, his attitudes, the values he is learning are the only ones he has to set upon. He has to live with them and the rest of us have to live with him.

4

The functioning of group intelligence

WE WANT to explore in this chapter the think that man is built to do. Biologically, man differs very little from other mammals except in the size and complexity of his central nervous system. He has more brains. The brains enable him to think. Since we are built by our associations with other people, the way in which man uses his big brains in relating to others is the special concern of those who teach.

Man cannot think effectively alone. Intelligence functions through and for group enterprise. Even our responses about what seem wholly personal matters have to take into account the response of others. No man is so self-sufficient that he has no concern for anyone else's opinions of his act, and he cannot produce a work of art except out of his own human experiencing. We believe that while consciousness is unduly a powerful drive, the motor to response is readily learned and functions even more powerfully as man's distinctive human quality. We find Montagu's *On Being Human*¹ a revealing treatment of this thesis.



Man Lives by His Wits

Man early learned that his only hope of survival was by his wits. In physical prowess, sensory acuity, and instinctive action

¹ W. F. Ashley-Montagu, *On Being Human* (New York: Dover, Schuman, 1950).

he is inferior to many other creatures. Man found, however, that, combined with others of his kind, he had strength far superior to that of the creatures. With other men he could figure out ingenious solutions to the difficulties he faced. He had the capacity to remember, to think, to plan ahead, to invent tools. He could scheme to outwit other creatures and thus maintain his toe-hold on this planet. A lone man facing a stampeding herd was at its mercy. A group of men could plan a corral for controlling the herd and using it to the group's advantage.

Outcomes of group thinking were direct and swift in the early days of man's recorded history. The quality of group intelligence was tested immediately by the degree of success in securing food, finding shelter from threatening elements, securing protection from destructive beasts, conquering enemies, and continuing the life of the group. Hector did not plan the Trojan horse alone. Responsibility for initiating and following through on group plans was easily fixed. Everyone involved had a chance to know the reasons why certain suggestions were accepted to act upon and others were rejected. Only when group life became too complex for one man to comprehend did we write lines such as, "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do or die."

Biological Evolution Is Progress in Cooperation

While we distrust analogies, we regard the development of the human body as an eloquent illustration of the principles of the development of effective group life. Every human body begins life as a single cell. Within this cell are infinite numbers of urges and potentialities for division and redivision, resulting in specialized tissues and organs. Each of these comes to function in a specialized way to build and maintain the human being. Man is a much more complex creature than a jellyfish. Man is much more vulnerable than a jellyfish, but he has many more behavior potentialities than a jellyfish. Being a complex organization of specialized parts, man functions smoothly only when all his parts are working together. Whenever one part gets more important than the whole or loses its specialized function, we have a sick man. The most distinguishing part of a man (his cortex) enables him to be sensitive to other people and to communicate and plan with them. The functioning of the human body is a

demonstration of a high level of differentiation and integration of specialized biological processes.

Nearly all creatures thrive better in association with others of their species. The isolated animal, with but few exceptions, is retarded in growth and often wastes away. Goldfish exposed to poison remain alive longer in association than in isolation. In describing the quality of cooperation found throughout life, Montagu says, "The fact that such diverse groups as insects and mammals have developed social life indicates beyond any reasonable doubt the existence in organic life of deep-seated potentialities toward socialization, or what might properly be termed the process of forming society."² The writings of Allee³ are most instructive and interesting on this point. Many forms of life will not produce or multiply in isolation. Hippopotamuses are disappearing from the world because they are anti-social.

We see in the human body, the most complex of all living organisms, the most delicate physiological balances and the most intricate degrees of cooperative working relations. A man can become ill and die by the failure of any one of hundreds of specialized parts of his body. For example, the self-regulatory mechanisms of the body, which we call homeostasis, are so intricate as to defy clear description, but we do know enough about the process to understand the tremendous cooperative adjustments which are constantly taking place within each of us as specialized organs and cells perform their specialized functions and show an infinite capacity to assume added functions when needed to keep the human mechanism going. Chemical composition, gland functioning, body temperature, and dozens of other vital processes operate interdependently to keep us healthy most of the time.

The more we know of man's biological structure, the more evidence we have to support the thesis that man's internal organization depends upon the integration of specialization. We know, for instance, that the suprasegmental nervous system (most of us learned to call it the voluntary) is concerned with "the integrated behavior of the entire organism." We also know that it is this

² M. F. Ashley-Montagu, *On Being Human* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950), pp. 36-37.

³ Warder Clyde Allee, *Cooperation Among Animals with Human Implications* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951).

part of the nervous system that controls selfishness and enables us to care for others. When a certain area of the cerebrum is destroyed, altruism disappears. Does not this say to us that school plans should drop all appeals to selfish pursuit of privilege and so manage child life that gratifications come to people who care and cooperate in the pursuit of ever-widening satisfactions? If the reader wishes to explore more extensively the cooperative nature of man's own biology, we recommend the writings of Gerard ⁴ and Simpson.⁵

As we study the history of species, we discover that competition has been a common factor leading to their extinction and that cooperation has been a common factor in the survival of other species. In the biological world, competition is a function of scarcity. Intelligent creatures can plan adjustment to scarcity through cooperation. Most of us well remember adjusting to the genuine scarcities brought on by recent wars. Modern man is plagued by economic habits and attitudes developed before he learned how to produce abundant supplies of goods.

Man's Civilization Is Progress in Cooperation

Let's take a quick backward look at man's progress to see if we can learn how man got where he is today. While recorded history is full of contention, strife, bitterness, and hatred, the giant steps of progress have been taken because of the need to cooperate. The world's great religions recognize brotherly love as a prime force in life. Much of enduring art and music expresses the need for togetherness. Man's societal and political life has evolved from smaller to larger groups as he learned there was much to be gained and little to be feared from fusion of interests and efforts. Clans learned that life could be better if clans worked and lived cooperatively rather than contentiously. For like reasons, tribes formed nations, nations united, until today we find the beginnings of a world organization. The United States of America began as a union of separate nations.⁶ While many

⁴ R. W. Gerard, "Higher Levels of Integration," in *Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Sciences*, ed. Robert Redfield (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942), pp. 67-87.

⁵ George Gaylord Simpson, *The Meaning of Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949).

⁶ Carl Clinton Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal* (New York: Viking Press, 1948).

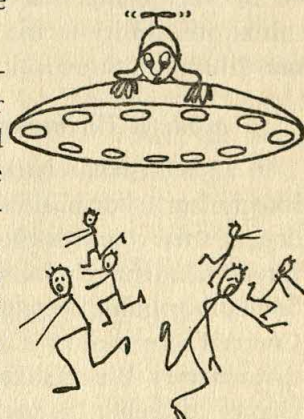
cooperative endeavors were stimulated by shared fears, the need for common defense, the higher levels of cooperation, came about as the result of recognition and anticipation of the possibility of improved security through planning and working together.

Today people living on the other side of the water are no longer unknown and strange. We cross the oceans in a few hours, go around the world in a few days. The most remote islands have been visited by American GI's and their inhabitants know at least a few words of Yankee slang. The dread of the great "out-yonder" is much less powerful today.

While we have eliminated the fear of unknown persons, it appears that we have retained the fears and attached them to people whom we know to differ from us. We have the added fear that the world may not be quite mature enough to handle wisely the powerful weapons we have made. Our most pressing need now is to activate our collective intelligence to the degree that we may refrain from blowing each other off the planet. Our long-range enemies are common to all people. They are war, poverty, hunger, disease, and the desire to control men's minds and bodies.

As surely as civilization has been enriched by the cooperative efforts of our forebears so civilization will be preserved and extended by the peoples of the world coming to understand that all persons have similar purposes and needs. Our best hope for a good life is to help our neighbor have one, too. Forms of contention today are a denial of group intelligence. Their cost is too high, the risk too great.

One of the most interesting and neglected facts of organizational life is that as organization becomes more complex and more extensive, individuals and units within the organization become necessarily more unlike and more necessary and valuable to each other. Specialization accompanying the social structuring of



human life has caused every man to become more necessary to every other man—so necessary that today the daily living of any one of us in this country is affected by a work stoppage halfway around the globe. A shortage of coffee in Brazil recently doubled its price to us. We are just beginning to learn how necessary we are to each other, how inescapably our well-being is bound up with that of all the world. Our many young men who are spending several years of their lives in Korea, in Germany, in Greenland, and elsewhere to secure the lives of those of us at home know well how necessary we are to each other.

It is no longer possible to confine the spread of disease. Our necessary business keeps us going to and coming from all parts of the world. With us come and go the bacteria, the viruses, and their resulting maladies. Tropical diseases today are not uncommon in this country. With us come and go, too, the current ideas of the world. These ideas are finding congenial habitats and are motivating people all over the world to use their intelligence that life may be better for them. The big question is: Can we control our creature impulses sufficiently—can we use that which is distinctively human, our ability to think, our ability to use and to train group intelligence—to sustain life in an atom-splitting age?



Modern Technology Increases Need for Cooperation

In an industrial civilization differentiation (specialization) and integration (cooperation) are imperatives. Technological interdependency requires cooperation. Modern industry is a web of interdependent relationships not unlike that existing in the body. Something going wrong with one part incapacitates the whole. Coerced cooperation is totalitarianism. Voluntary cooperation is democracy. We dislike totalitarianism for it denies man the chance to realize his greatest dignity as a human being, his right to exercise choice. We seek democracy for it enables man to maintain his dignity through expressing choice. Effective voluntary cooperation is modern life's greatest challenge to man's skill in group intelligence.

To state the idea another way, the operation of group intelligence is the basic method of democracy. The purpose of voluntary cooperation is man's fulfillment as a social human being. Voluntary cooperation is responsive to individual man's aspirations, his values, his needs. It makes possible a blending of the individual's resurgent desire for freedom and of the individual's need for common good to prevail through cooperative endeavor. Our goal in a democracy is ever to expand the voluntary aspects of productive cooperation.

Today all individuals have to accept a degree of coercion and restriction of freedom. We aim to hold these to a minimum, operating in matters of relative unimportance such as the meaning of stop and go signals, the schedules for receiving compensation and paying bills, being punctual at work, and performing assumed tasks. We must refine and mature skills in voluntary cooperation. Many questions have been raised in our generation relative to how we can so arrange our living that more and more people voluntarily contribute to the general welfare of their own communities. We are paying the price today of earlier complacency and indifference about situations that vitally affect our lives.

Too often group intelligence is circumscribed by personal ambitions, by professional envy, by seeking advantage for oneself without concern for the rest of the members of the family, of the neighborhood, of the school, or of the community. Sometimes we find group intelligence circumscribed by fear of the untried. This operates in our schools extensively. How often we hear teachers remark, "But we don't do it that way in this school. We have always done it thus and so." And this is given as a valid reason for not trying anything different! Sometimes intelligence is circumscribed by a "keyhole view" of affairs. "We can't afford to make these improvements. We're getting along all right just as we are."

We believe that our schools must examine their practices to see if unwittingly we are training our young to use their intelligence in ways that are self-destructive in the long run. When we motivate children to be the best in the class, do we not assign a degree of failure to all others and do we not stimulate both the winner and the loser to use his wits to get ahead of others regard-

less of costs or means? Thus we debase the uses of intelligence. We appeal to a motivation that in our day is one that denies the highest utilization of group thinking.

One ten-year-old expressed the need for giving attention to the quality of group living when he said, "If teachers would at least act as if they liked everyone I think everyone would have a better school life and no one would get hurt feelings." When we fail to consider the human qualities of those whom we teach, do we not encourage the use of group intelligence for ends not consonant with democracy? A nine-year-old says, "Some teachers make jokes about people, not knowing that they are hurting their feelings. I also do not like teachers who keep picking on one person all the time." A seventeen-year-old expresses his feelings quite eloquently:



I have found education in the classroom to be generally a very depersonalized process and therefore not really education. The emphasis in this classroom on personal, human qualities was incongruous with the classroom situations I'm accustomed to. I was surprised when it finally dawned on me, because classroom preoccupation with personality has been very insignificant in the years of my school life. Rarely inside the classroom have teachers sought for personality interaction. As I listened I realized something was going on, the significance of which passed me by.

I was fortunate to make new, closer and interesting friends through our group experiences. This class has undoubtedly led several people to relax their inhibitions, and tensions usually associated with classroom functions. Many have found, I am certain, that their contributions can be just as worthy as those of others if only given a liberal chance to express them.

The dynamics of human behavior are directed to associating, sharing, helping, thinking together. Our public schools exist that the young may have abundant opportunity to practice intelligent ways of working and living constructively in a group. This objective should shape all that happens within the school. We make this statement with confidence for we know that the func-

tioning of group intelligence enhances the living of each individual. We need not choose between individual and group values—in fact, we cannot. We live in groups from birth to death. Our lives secure their meanings from our human associations. But the group in a democratic culture exists for the individuals who comprise it. The group is *never* an end in itself. If the group becomes an end, we have a totalitarian state in which we find, not the functioning of group intelligence, but the imposition of the will of a few on the many. As educators, we must become clear that there is no dichotomy in a democracy between individual and group purposes. The democratic approach is to consider *individuals in groups* functioning together in such ways that collective wisdom is released to make life good for each and all concerned.

We have tried thus far in this chapter to discuss the ways in which man's existence is dependent upon cooperative action and have sketched how man has used his intelligence throughout recorded history to create and sustain a civilization which has become more and more dependent upon the cooperative functioning of people in harmonious relations. We wish now to discuss the processes involved in the functioning of group intelligence.

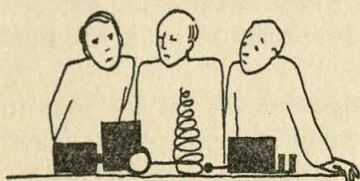
Group Planning

Man can plan because he has the capacity of foresight which he may, through exercise, develop into ability. He develops the ability to foresee by looking ahead (planning). The quality of his foresight is developed by living in situations that require the exercise of foresight in varying kinds and degrees and with many different kinds of people—old and young, strange and familiar, men and women, diffident and enthusiastic. A child who has never gone to school, for instance, cannot foresee that he must share toys with others. From a few experiences he learns he must contrive to get his turn on the swing or the bars. He starts foreseeing the context of situations and plans how he can relate to the foreseeable future in ways satisfying to him.

Planning requires checks and balances

Man cannot think clearly alone. He requires the checks and balances of other men and normally seeks conference and counsel

when it is his purpose to act in accord with a wider wisdom. Modern life presents problems too complex for the individual to solve and demands specialized skills and knowledges too varied to carry around in "one small head." One individual cannot have had all the experiences that are required or useful in a situation in which a decision affects many people. Thus we must pool our resources and seek the stimulation that comes from talking things over with others. Just having to say the words out loud often clarifies our thoughts as we are wrestling with a tough problem. Industry has recognized the validity of group thinking in organizing teams of men to work together to accomplish tasks.



"Now what do we think?"

Nearly all the scientific research that is taking place today is done by groups of highly specialized individuals working together to seek answers to concrete problems that are often parts of larger problems.

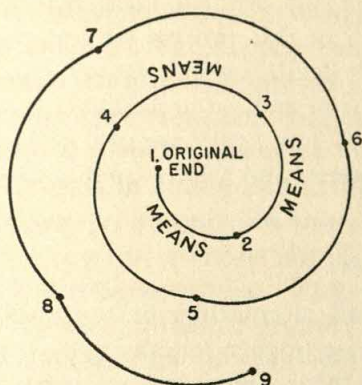
The development of gamma globulin for the prevention of polio is a dramatic illustration of the cooperative endeavor required as men plan together to improve the quality of their living.

Means and ends must be consonant

John Dewey characterized intelligence as a process of converting desires into plans. As we do this, we have to consider the means by which we seek our ends. Another distinctive quality of democracy is that means must be consonant with ends. Thus, as we plan to eliminate polio, we make sure that the inoculation is safe. We do not sacrifice 5000 children, or even one child, that we may test out the effects of the preventive measures. We find other means of testing.

The process of discovering appropriate means to accomplish a purpose may suggest other ends that emerge as more desirable than the original intent. Consideration of means then stimulates us to reassess our goals and perhaps to establish new directions. We call this process an end-means continuum for our ends are held as ends-in-view. This continuum of ends-means is often pictured as a straight line with means-ends travelling in both directions. We like to think of it as an expanding spiral with the

process of finding means to secure ends being the dynamic that leads us into fuller and deeper channels of consideration thus necessitating continuous evaluation of original and emergent purposes.



1. Original end.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Ends-in-view.

9. Final end.

We recall a group of young teen-agers who dearly loved their music teacher. As June approached and they began to sense that next year they would move to another building, they wondered how they could express their appreciation to Miss Potter. Their first plan was to present her with a corsage of orchids from the stage during the last assembly of the year. The end, appreciation for one who had enriched their living, was a worthy one. Then someone began to exercise a bit of foresight about how Miss Potter would feel if she had a big corsage given to her in the spotlight of the stage and the rest of the teachers didn't have corsages. "And how would the other teachers feel?" was the next question. As this group talked over their ideas they decided that their means of expressing appreciation was not appropriate. They considered other ways of expressing their appreciation and finally decided upon changing their end from that of securing a corsage to asking Miss Potter if she would accompany them on their homeroom picnic. During the course of the picnic, nearly every youngster found some way of letting Miss Potter know that he would really miss her next year and wished that she might go to the new school with him. We dare to believe that other teachers received similar expressions of appreciation because Miss



Potter's personality had caused the group to consider what one teacher had meant to them.

This process of sorting out alternatives for accomplishing our goals and changing our goals somewhat because of lack of resources or inappropriateness of our original ideas goes on constantly in our lives. Of much of this process we are relatively unaware. If we retain enough flexibility that we are able to see and feel the process of interaction and act according to our best judgment of appropriateness to our goals, we are using group intelligence to build finer responses and a finer quality of human being.

Planning foresees consequences

Group planning considers all alternatives in terms of hypothetical consequences. The wise teacher reiterates this question, "If we accept this idea, what then? How can we carry it out? Do we have time and resources? Will we hurt anyone's feelings and if we do is that all right? Will we learn what we set out to learn?" This process of sorting out the consequences of our planning never ceases. We allow children far too little experience in assessing the difficulties that their plans entail. Too frequently we say, "No, we can't do that because . . ." The "because" has little meaning unless it is based in real experiences that have grown out of children's lives.

We think of the decision that the school teacher allowed the children in the film, *Passion for Life*.⁷ Albert, who was the "bad boy" of the village had recently found satisfying membership in school. He had written a story about The Innovator, one of the village citizens who opposed any changes in the school. If Albert's story were printed in the school newspaper, The Innovator's feelings would be hurt, and he in turn could damage the school. This was discussed and the group decided to print the story. The Innovator stirred up trouble for the school, but the children had assessed this possibility and decided to go ahead because Albert's need to see his story in print was a need that the group on an unconscious level felt must be satisfied. And Albert

⁷ *Passion for Life*, French Production, Cooperative Générale du Cinéma Français, U. G. C. (Distributed by Brandon Films, New York, New York, rental from New York University Film Library.)

did not let the group down when the continuance of the school depended upon the appropriateness of his responses.

Planning allows divergent actions

Usually as a group plans, it comes to tentative agreements about how to proceed. Occasionally two or more ideas turn up that seem equally worthy and satisfying to the group. Our planning has to make room for such emergents, and means have to be devised to give them a place in the total scheme.

In one class of young adults, who were studying how to get along in groups, five students emerged with a plan to form a small working group to explore the possibilities of role-playing as a means of solving problems. The remainder of the class did not wish to divide into small groups, but did not wish to deny the five the opportunity to work together. As planning was done the total group kept in mind the desires of the five and ways were devised to include these plans in the working organization. A scheduled coffee-break each morning gave the small group a chance to think together. The five sat near each other during general discussions so that even here there were exchanges of ideas and communication within the smaller group. The five prepared their term paper together as a report on experiences they had had outside of class hours as they worked together on their problem. The closing sessions of the class gave an opportunity for the presentation of the work of the five. This was role-playing which involved the total group and was so provocative that the final evaluation emerged directly out of the work of the group. The consensus was that giving the group a chance to function within the framework of the total planning had enriched the class as well as stimulated tremendous growth of the participating five.

We should note that this course was different in content, in procedures, in feelings, and in total outcomes from any other class. The teacher had to be flexible enough and have enough confidence in group intelligence to encourage the emergence of creative plans and then try to find ways to make room for their functioning.

Planning sharpens thinking processes

As members of groups plan together, they are learning the processes of thinking in concrete terms. Generalizations are

examined for fallacious and valid assumptions. Definitions are necessary to understand the meaning of what is intended by the words that are used. Attempts are made to distinguish between fact (what we know) and opinion (what we believe). Our reasons for believing are examined. Boys and girls have a chance to look at their values: "Why do you propose that we do this? Why do you consider this a better way to go about our work than the other way? What will we discover if . . . ?"

As planning proceeds, we consider what data are needed to translate our plans into action. At this point we examine sources of evidence: "Who made this statement and why did he come to believe this? What are his facts? Where does he go to get his facts? What was he trying to do? How much agreement do you find with this man's point of view? Are there differing statements? If so, held by whom?"



"These authors don't agree!"

Often we hear teachers say, "But we waste so much time in planning." Wise, practical planning is never a waste of time. It is the key to the functioning of intelligent behavior.

Time spent in effective planning is time saved from mistake-making, from muddled, ineffective acting. We insist, however, that planning is only the first step to be taken.

Planning must result in action

Planning must result in *action* if a group is to remain alert and responsible. Planning without acting is debilitating. We witness today sick, ineffectual individuals and groups who attend countless committee meetings without any resultant action. How often we hear people remark, "I am fed up with all this talk. Let's do something." Perhaps in no area of life is this more true than in school work. Such processes lead away from positive growth. They breed feelings of indifference, resentment, frustration. They result in passing-the-buck, curtailment of personal responsibility, and boredom. Much of our culture is characterized by social apathy. Repeated appeals have to be made for participation in civil defense, support for blood banks and community chests. A "hot" election may bring out half the voters. Parent-teacher associations struggle along with ten to twenty per

cent attendance. Is the school contributing to these attitudes? We are—unless our planning with children results in living that makes sense in their terms.

Sometimes we find teachers and children apparently planning merely for the exercise of planning. The book says it is good to plan, so we spend fifteen minutes each day practicing the skill of planning. Let's be sure that planning is not done to be "sweet" to children, to make them feel good about their experiences (although this usually results). We plan in order to behave intelligently. Sometimes planning is distorted to become guessing what the teacher intends to do. We witness this as teachers carry on discussions with children about projects they wish to study. In these situations teachers reject all ideas without discussion until the one the teacher has in mind is proposed. This idea is seized upon with enthusiasm, and children know, "Well, this is what he wants to do."

A group of thirty-five five-year-olds cannot know the problems they will have living in a room thirty by twenty-five until they have experienced it for a few days. At that time, the children with the guidance of the one adult member (the teacher) are in a position to plan some ways of living together so that no one is hurt and everyone has as much freedom as possible. They will consider how to move around the room; how to get in and out; how to care for toys, paints, and books; where to keep wraps; what to do when paint is spilled; what to do when milk and crackers are served; and a dozen other specifics about their living. If the group plans and acts upon its plans in this way, it is developing foresight. It is committing itself to responsible action based on group thinking. It is trying out and modifying its behavior as a result of past experiencing.

L. B. Sharp, a renowned camping expert, who has helped plan some of the most functional and beautiful camps in America, stated recently that, if he had a camp site to develop, he would want to live with a group of campers on the site for a period of time before planning the layout of the camp. After years of experience, he has discovered that a better camp results if the campers themselves have a chance to plan and think together about the specific problems inherent in each specific site after living on the site for a period of time. Those who have taken

trips with children know that they can think of many intriguing things to see and to do that are important to them which would never occur to a grown-up.

Group Intelligence Encourages the Creative

One major purpose in group living is to manage our endeavors so that uniqueness has a chance to thrive and to benefit others. A premium is placed on creativeness, not for the sake of being creative, but because we understand that the individual realizes the full measure of his human dignity in creativeness and because we know that group living is enriched when creativeness emerges. We develop this thesis more fully in Chapter 6. We wish to note here that change is the ordered way of life. Growth is change. When growth ceases, death begins. Creation is a process now going on, not an event of the past. Those who join the process of creation are "good" if their purposes are good for all in the long-run. Man's orderly progress toward voluntary cooperation has been retarded by individuals and groups seeking selfish interests, narrow group interests, nationalism, and regional pride. Conditions leading to World War I were partially produced by the narrow interests of both Germans and British. Today, it seems apparent that both they and the world would have been better off if they had worked together rather than against each other.

In a democracy, intelligent behaving seeks to use change for purposes leading to further growth. Groups that seek the degradation of the human spirit, the exploitation of human beings, the constriction of opportunities for others, have ends incompatible with the growth process. They may achieve their ends temporarily but in so doing they destroy others, and inevitably destroy themselves. Because they lack social responsibility they cannot be said to be behaving intelligently. The kind of creativeness sought through the use of group intelligence may be highlighted by contrasting it with a revolutionary mode of change that can be accomplished only by the *destruction* of all but one of two or more opposing forces. The intelligent way is to seek a *synthesis of all forces* in such ways that new forms emerge that make life better for all.

The decision of the Supreme Court stating that separate schools

for Negroes and whites deny equal opportunity illustrates the application of creative intelligence to a crucial problem of our day. Cooperative planning, marshalling of facts, and presentation of evidence occurred on a national scale. Groups stated their positions before the Supreme Court. The men who argued the case were just the mouthpieces of millions of interested citizens and school children and thousands of researchers. The decision itself was a creative approach in that the principle was stated unequivocally and unanimously. The means for implementing the principle into the fabric of our society has been referred back to interested groups. They will have an opportunity to present their plans before the Court. Now groups are involved in a creative process of finding ways to evolve acceptable solutions. One spokesman for the Negro group, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, exemplifies the essence of creative intelligence in his keynote address to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in which he urged participants to discuss the issue in "a spirit of give-and-take."

Conferences have been held which have resulted in declarations of principle and policy. Now we are faced with one of the toughest applications of intelligent behaving we have met in a century, for social mores have to accommodate the new decision. Creative solutions are being found. The Supreme Court will review all the ways in which integration has been effected in other areas and in other places. From all the planning, thinking, examining of evidence, we are confident that creative solutions will emerge that embody the spirit of our political and social faith. This decision is not an outcome of today, nor is it finished with the declaration of the courts. It is the product of the creative thought of all of us, and its shape will be formed from the intelligence we have plus all that has gone before. We like the final sentence of an editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "Yes, back to Lincoln and Jefferson—and also farther ahead than anyone can now see!"

Group Intelligence Uses Expert Knowledge

Using expert knowledge effectively is a mark of group intelligence and is essential to its functioning. We would still be in the era of the caveman if we had not found acceptable ways to

build upon the knowledge of previous times and upon the peculiar competencies of others. We have learned to accept expert knowledge in the highly technical areas of our living. We don't insist, for instance, that we all decide whether water must be tested for purity nor that we all do the testing. We have to accept the repairman's word about needing a new tube in the TV set. We heed the advice of the doctor.

Generally, we seem more ready to accept and use expert knowledge when it applies to things than when it applies to people. The weight of the problems today make it imperative for us to listen with great thoughtfulness to those who have studied deeply the science of human beings and their behaving. The cost of muddling has become too great to ignore the wisdom of specialists. It is crucial that our culture learn to value superior competencies. This will result not from preaching and admonition but from genuine deep experiencing and finding other people valuable in matters that concern us.

One of the crucial issues of our time is keeping our freedoms strong enough that we are willing to listen to those with whom we differ. Recent history warns us of the danger of liquidating those whose ideas we may consider dangerous because they are different. Each culture that has followed this pattern of behaving has weakened itself to the point of destruction. Our leaders agree this is why we got the atom bomb built before the Germans.

In our schools we must teach children and youth to recognize the qualities of expert knowledge and to respect them. We must be sure to distinguish between hero worship and appreciation of expertness. We may have called upon Babe Ruth as an authority in baseball, but we didn't act upon his opinions about world politics because he was a superb ball player. Nor do we ask an excellent coach to act as an authority in administration because he coaches well. This is not to say that being a fine coach rules out the possibility of being a fine administrator. Occasionally we find teachers who feel that they have no role to play as an expert in the classroom. They genuinely believe that all ideas must come from the children. They fail to distinguish between the opera-



*"I believe that in
India we should
..."*

tion of intelligence in a democracy and in a laissez-faire society. Dewey clarified this misunderstanding: "Since the teacher has presumably a greater background of experience, there is the same presumption of the right of a teacher to make suggestions as to what to do, as there is on the part of the head carpenter to suggest to apprentices something of what they are to do."⁸ It is wise to remember that all things do not need to be learned from the beginning. Many things may be taken on faith in the individual who gives them. The teacher's role is to help the group evaluate and assess sources of expertness and to find the most reliable sources available for consultation.

Group Intelligence Concerned with Quality of Leadership

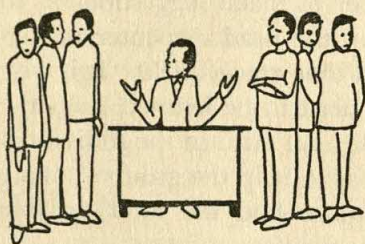
Leadership is looked upon as a function to be performed to help attain group purposes rather than an honor bestowed upon someone. The intelligent group defines leadership in specific terms and in terms of responsibilities to be carried out. He who accepts leadership recognizes that an honorable discharge of that responsibility involves the honor of all, not a single individual.

The function of leadership is the release and coordination of human potentialities for stated goals in specific situations. Leadership changes frequently as the activity changes. Jack may be the person to lead the group toward cohesion in agreeing upon a plan to lay before the city council whereas Sam and Jane may be the leaders in drafting the plan and Betty may be the one to lead the group in the presentation and interpretation of the plan. Intelligent group behaving plans to discover indigenous leadership and to develop the kind of group controls that allow purposes to be defined and acted upon, utilizing all available resources. Leadership in a democratic group must derive its position and influence from the respect of the group for its peculiar competencies rather than from ordained status.

We discuss the functioning of leadership in other chapters. Let us note here that the primary tasks of leadership are the attainment of consensus about group goals, the active appraisal of resources for attaining goals, wise planning of procedures, appropriate designation of responsibilities for operation and com-

⁸ John Dewey, *Intelligence in the Modern World*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1939), p. 624.

pletion of plans, and acceptance of these responsibilities by members of the group. The leader sees that all concerned parties are heard, that strong enthusiasms and marked dissents are justly



weighed, that the mild desires of a majority shall not outweigh the strong concerns of a few. A genuinely democratic group seldom votes; voting tends to emphasize disagreements. It reaches agreements through discussion and consensus, resolving conflicting inter-

ests as much as possible and acting in accord with agreements. This is the way of group intelligence.

Group Intelligence Seeks Adequate Communication

In order for group intelligence to operate in achieving group purposes, free-flowing communication is essential. This communication has to be continuous. Individuals making decisions that are of crucial concern must have the facts. Often they do not. Many institutions and organizations have grown so large and their management has become so complex and impersonal that an increasing number of decisions are made without conferring with those whose welfare is affected. We believe this represents a lag in our culture. We have to find ways for people to be informed about matters that concern them and to have a chance to express their responses about such matters.

Recently a large university was offered a significant grant from a foundation to carry on some experimental research. The nature of the work was such that the total faculty was vitally concerned. The foundation stipulated that no publicity should be released until after it had issued its annual report; yet if the grant were accepted it had to be so stated in the report. If the staff were consulted about accepting the grant, the information was for all practical purposes public. This situation illustrates the dilemma of keeping communication free-flowing. It seems somewhat paradoxical that, with all the marvelous means for communicating that are available to our society, this problem plagues so many organizations and institutions. Contriving satisfactory solutions to our communication problems is a challenge to all the

intelligence we have. We must become clear about our purposes in communicating. Words are used today frequently to hide meaning. Our need is to clarify purposes and seek appropriate means for all to know.

Group Intelligence Accepts Routines of Behaving

If we are going to be intelligent in planning for future action, we will be aware of many habits or routines that we take for granted and accept as established. We don't decide, for instance, whether we shall pass on the right or the left. This is an established practice. We follow the practice, for it has no significance except to make life simpler for all of us. By accepting these common routines, we leave time for group intelligence to operate in significant realms.

The teacher informs the children about those routine ways of behaving that are established for the convenience of all. Such things as which stairs to use, what play areas are available, bus procedures, lunch schedules, convenient ways to find one's way around the building are some of the areas which in most situations need not be discussed at length. We do believe, however, that the way must be left open for discussing these routines and that all must know the reasons why the routines operate as they do.

Group Intelligence Seeks Appropriate Group Functioning

That which is relevant is appropriate. A group operating intelligently does that which is its own to do, that which belongs peculiarly to the group. Judgment, discrimination is required to determine those purposes that are relevant. Irresponsible individuals and groups have added greatly to fear and hysteria by failing to discriminate between relevant and irrelevant purposes. The wholesale investigations carried on by Congress, a legislative body, are examples wherein some members of Congress have conceived of their body as being judiciary and executive in purpose as well as legislative. The organization of commercial "little leaguers" by concerns selling athletic equipment seems a travesty of purpose. We ask ourselves, "Is it appropriate for a bakery to sponsor a little league? Is it appropriate to play basketball as a Baptist?"



Group Intelligence Seeks Socially Discriminating People

The demands of today are for people who are disposed toward cooperative enterprise. We need desperately people who accept the criterion of goodness as "the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest period of time." We need people who are motivated by an active sense of personal responsibility for the well-being of mankind, who cherish people because they are people, who seek expanding opportunities for people, who are able to integrate life's activities, and who are skilled in evolving creative means for solving the world's problems.

Our collective wisdom needs to be put to work to grow people who are sensitive to the feelings of others. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" must be accepted as an essential for modern living. An active concern for the inner good feelings of others is the core of any educational philosophy that seeks to teach people the ways of cooperative endeavor.

Discriminating judgment is a characteristic that comes as one looks ahead to possible outcomes. The intelligent individual is one who cultivates skill and resources for predicting social outcomes. This requires him to try to assess consequences and evaluate alternative proposals by group thinking. It requires a recognition of genuine authority. It recognizes that authority places upon groups limitations that must be respected if outcomes are to be forecast with any degree of realism.

In our time, man's greatest developmental task, and point of most rapid growth, is the achievement of world-wide cooperative living. Modern technology leaves no neutral group between peace and war. Teachers and pupils must grow in the knowledge of how other men live, of the circumstances that make life good, of the world's resources for richness of life. The school must carry on ways of living together that promote personal responsibility for the condition of man. It must carry on group enterprises directed to the continued improvement of the quality of living of the people for whom it is concerned. Education will be good to the extent that men plan and work together to make life more zestful and more secure for all, everywhere.

Our social intelligence must deal with social issues and with those issues on their growing edges. We must then deal with

controversial issues in our schools. In our democracy the people make the decisions. If these decisions are to be wise in areas of politics, economics, and social problems, the young must have an opportunity to make choices throughout school. These choices must grow in complexity and must be real; that is, the outcomes of the decisions must matter. And those who choose must be helped to assess the wisdom of their choices by their consequences.

Every school child, every day, should participate in group enterprises that employ his energies, thought, skills, and talents in the improvement of the quality of living of his group. Furthermore, every child should participate daily in work, discussion, seeking information about the activities, problems, aspirations, and hopes of the group with which he feels citizenship. This group should be ever-expanding, encompassing, ultimately world-wide. Children need help in maintaining constant information on the actions and concerns of their representatives at all levels of government—student council, board of education, neighborhood council, city council, representatives and executives in state, national, and United Nations capitals.

Children cannot learn the quality of intelligence necessary to our kind of world in atmospheres of contention, rivalry, determination to excel or to rule. We see no quest for superiority among the greatest benefactors of mankind. Their quest has been to know, to understand, to improve skill, to help solve pressing problems, to achieve high purposes, to serve—never merely to be superior.



5

How human beings learn

HOWEVER a person behaves, he has learned to behave that way. That way seems then best to him. Most of human behavior has been learned over a long period of time; to alter characteristic ways of behaving takes much time.

In accounting for the development of behavior it is quite impossible to distinguish between the effects of growing and of experience. We like the concept expressed long ago by Dr. William H. Kilpatrick that at any moment a human personality is the result of a unique organism growing in a unique environment.

Learning Goes on all the Time

Every human experience, every impulse carried through the central nervous system modifies the body. These subtle modifications are scantily understood by our most careful students of physiology and its important branch, neurology. We do know that the human personality, its characteristic ways of behaving result from the accumulation of experience. To blame a child for his behavior makes no more sense than to blame the wind for the way it blows.

Each Person's Learning Unique

The child learns his reactions to experience. It is impossible to conceive of any situation in which two individuals have identical experiences. Each person screens his perceptions by his own responses. Experience feeds on itself. Feeling is the crucial aspect of experience. Feeling results from attitudes, readiness for experience, and these are shaped by the whole spectrum of past experience. Only the teacher who senses the inner feelings of

a child senses the learning of that child. The principal skill of the teacher is the discernment of the real experiences of children. The art of the teacher is displayed in arranging conditions and circumstances that provide experiences productive of ever better human behavior.

We may sit in solemn counsel and decide that Eugene is not keeping up with the other children and might well spend another year in the fourth grade. We cannot competently make such a decision without knowing how Eugene will feel about it. We can't have much sense about how he will feel about it without knowing how his mother and father and brothers and sisters and playmates will feel about it, and what they will say at home to him. If we are concerned with Eugene's well-being and subsequent learnings we must make our decision regarding his promotion in terms of our very best guesses about his reactions to being left behind. If we as teachers fail to take into account how Eugene feels, we are using failure as a method of producing human beings who are convinced that they aren't much good, particularly at academic work. And this feeling of no-goodness is likely to spread outside school on the playground and at home.



Each Person Learns His Motives

Motives are the basic stuff of character and personality. Among all organisms from the amoeba to humans the basic motive is the maintenance of its own integrity. The whole body is geared to resist attack and to accept gratification. A score of years ago we saw a small movie made by Kurt Lewin before he came to America in which he contrasted the reactions of an infant to a taste of sugar and to a taste of lemon juice. Those who have lived with an infant know the reactions that the baby displayed when he was given a taste of sugar. His mouth, arms, legs sought to envelop the spoon. The response of his whole body was toward the spoon. When given the strong, unpleasant taste of lemon juice his hands, feet, head moved away from the spoon.

We see in ourselves a marked tendency toward complete acceptance or complete rejection of experience. The old saw, "love me, love my dog," capsules this tendency to reject the whole of an

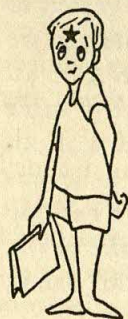
idea or the whole of another person because a part is distasteful to us. Many a child says he hates arithmetic when really he hates the physical labor of making all the figures when he is too young to make fine pencil movements comfortably.

If we motivate the individual to violate his own integrity by requiring him to participate in experiences for which he is not ready, we tend to develop unhealthy attitudes and feelings. These then are learned to affect future learning. We remember having to make fine stitches in a sewing class before we were able to coordinate our small muscles. We learned to dislike both sewing and the teacher who placed us in the position of being a failure at sewing.

Goals Must Be Genuine and Appropriate to Learner

Psychiatry today voices grave warnings against the blight of extraneous motivation. We know quite clearly that the motives, the goals offered children, must always be genuine and appropriate to the learner. We urge that teachers mark well those two terms, *genuine* and *appropriate*, as criteria for evaluating the experience of children.

We once knew well a little girl who, in her early years, was quite fastidious about being clean of body and clothes. She washed her hands many times a day. After she attended school for some weeks her mother noted one day that she was starting for school with quite dirty hands and inquired, "Aren't you going to wash before you go to school?" The child replied, "Oh no, we aren't doing that at school any more." The teacher had been giving stars for clean hands and, when most of the children developed the habit of washing their hands, the teacher suspended the giving of stars. This child, having learned to wash for a star rather than to get clean, stopped washing.



We have known graduate students who find it difficult to do any worth-while reading, discussion, exploration without the promise of credit and a superior mark. The query, "If I write an extra paper, will I get an A?" reveals the results of our success in motivating for spurious goals. Recently a large percentage of a student body was asked this question, "What did you get out of this quarter's

work?" Almost universally the spontaneous response was given in terms of marks. In discussing the difficulty of recognizing and accepting intrinsic goals for learning, one student teacher remarked, "Has our past educational experience blinded us to the worth of what we do?"

Artist teachers sense the importance of genuine goals. Food is eaten for nourishment and gustatorial pleasure, not to please mother, not to get ice cream. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that America's sweet tooth is the result of two generations of admonishing children that they must clean their plates before they can have their sweets, as our British friends call dessert. Benjamin Spock says: "I think much of the exaggerated craving for sweets is caused unwittingly by parents. A mother, trying to get her child to finish his vegetable, will say, 'You can't have your ice-cream until you've finished your spinach!' . . . when you hold back on food . . . it whets the desire."¹

Games are played for fun. They are not played to learn something else or to build strong bodies. This is not to say that many fine learnings do not result from games. But the motive of the child in playing is to have fun, and should be respected as a genuinely worth-while motive. Work is done to increase the goods of life, not to build character. A primary need of people is to do useful work, work that other people need to have done. There is but one condition more demoralizing to people than to do no useful work. That condition is being required to do work that does not need to be done. We view with much alarm an all too widespread faith that the school should assign work just for the sake of a child's learning to work. Much of what teachers and parents call homework does not need to be done. We believe a good test of the validity of homework is to ask, Is it something that can be better done at home than at school? Children are checked merely to make certain that they have done the assigned work. Occasionally they are required to carry their books home, although no assignments have been made because of the belief that learning must be arduous and distasteful. A very great deal of adult aversion to worth-while reading and writing results from the employment of unreal motives for work. We view with alarm

¹ Dr. Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1946), p. 232.

a poll showing the classics usually studied in high school ranking as the most distasteful books among adult readers.

Writing and reading are instruments of communication. A child learns to write as he grows with people who use writing and reading for communication. The teacher can offer no valid reason for writing other than to communicate with another person. Reading makes sense only as a process of finding out what somebody has written. We believe the readers of this book are wasting their time unless they have some sense of identification of the writers and their purposes in writing the book.

Traffic regulations are made and obeyed, not to restrain the freedom of individuals, but to enhance it, to make travel more expeditious and more safe. A few years ago we noted unfortunate reactions to teaching children safety through the motive of fear. When the children got old enough to be brave they took foolish chances for the fun of it. In this mid-twentieth century the world is having much trouble in discerning the fact that one aspect of the development of civilization has been giving the individual freedoms but always in order to enhance freedoms at a higher level. We trust the reader can call from his own experience many illustrations of the importance of employing genuine motivations for behavior.

It might be worth-while here to recount some of the levels of learning. We believe that all human learning is more or less a process of acculturation; that is, assuming qualities and characteristics of others in our environment. We have spelled this out in the chapter on "Humans Are Social." Through the centuries we have learned to employ much of what we call natural behavior as meaningful symbols. We have recounted elsewhere how all languages employ the syllables ma-ma, da-da, bye-bye in the early language development of the child. Not only the symbols, but intonation, tempo, and other vocal characteristics come to have the distinct qualities of those with whom we live. A child growing up in the southern regions of our country carries certain tonal qualities recognizable throughout life. Certain groups living on islands in the Pacific have ways of moving that set them apart from other groups.



Much Learning on Unconscious Level

The great bulk of human learning takes place below the level of awareness. For example, most of us who live in cities are quite competent in calculating the prospect of reaching the other side of a street without being run over in the traffic. Few of us make these calculations in conscious consideration of the width of the street, our speed of locomotion, or the speed of approaching automobiles. We unconsciously make these calculations quite accurately. Most of our children learn to whistle and can whistle a tune. We know very few people who can describe the process of whistling or offer anyone else instruction in making certain pitches and effects in whistling. Try some time to describe for another person the method by which you keep your center of gravity directly above your feet when you stoop to pick up an object from the floor. If you don't keep the center of gravity where it belongs, you fall down.

There is much evidence to substantiate the fact that most learning must take place in the muscles, in the glands before it can be assimilated into the personality by the cortex. Stanley Cobb warned more than twenty years ago that we may be creating an unsane population by attempting to teach conscious verbalization and symbols for experience which has not taken place in the viscera. It is clearly true that we do violence to a child by attempting to teach him that three plus four makes seven when he doesn't know three or four or seven; or when we try to teach him words before he has encountered them in his own culture.

Much Learning through Conditioning

Much learning takes place through conditioning. This process was dramatically described many years ago by Pavlov.² We believe that the understanding of the process of conditioning and of reconditioning is most important to the teacher. The reader probably will recall that Pavlov taught a dog to secrete saliva at the sound of a bell. The dog naturally secretes saliva at the smell of food. The bell was rung before the food was introduced to the dog. After a few repetitions the sound of the bell induced the secretion of saliva. Notice that the dog learned to use an old

² Ivan Petrovich Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes* (London: Oxford Press, 1927).

adequate response for a new stimulus. This is the distinguishing feature of learning through conditioning—learning to attach an already established response to a new situation.

The most significant application of the principle of conditioning to teaching is that the new situation or stimulus must precede in point of time the old one, if it is to be substituted for it. Long ago barbers learned to offer a little child a lollipop after he had had his hair cut, commenting that he had been “a fine boy.” No barber ever laid out a lollipop, saying, “If you sit still, you will get the lollipop.” This is the distinguishing difference between a genuine reward and a bribe. The cases of Pavlov’s dog and the barber’s small customer are parallel in the following manner: Ringing of bell (haircut) conditions secretion of saliva (good behavior of child) resulting in food for the dog (lollipop for the child). The teacher who says, “If you will be good this week, we will go on a picnic Friday afternoon,” does not build character but indulges in bribery. On the other hand, the teacher who says on Friday, “My, we have been good! We have worked so hard! It’s such a pretty day, let’s take our sandwiches to the woods,” is applying properly the principle of conditioning and is genuinely building character. It is quite clear that working for prizes and promised rewards tends to undermine character.

Drill a Function of Learning

Ordinarily when we think of learning we are thinking of habit formation through practice and repetition. A generation ago textbooks on psychology abounded with researches on effective habit formation and the prevention of forgetting. Drill has loomed large in the development of educational methods and educational materials. We now see quite clearly that human beings have a natural disposition to exercise their new capacities; that is, to drill. Anyone who has tried to care for a child during his first steps, or tried to get a nine-year-old in to lunch when he’s playing ball knows how true this is. We recall, too, how assiduously we practiced the skills of dancing when that became important, and how later we voluntarily burned the midnight oil learning the



skills of graph-making. We believe that, were teachers sufficiently patient to wait for new capacities to dawn, they would be relieved completely of their anxiety about drill and practice.

Motive for Drill Crucial

Certainly the motive for drill is its crucial aspect. Nothing good can be built into personality by forced drill because all human activity is directed to the attainment of its own goals. The student who studies hard to pass an examination finds that shortly after the examination his learning has greatly diminished. We used to give attention to curves of forgetting that showed that great loss of retention followed learning activities. Such experiments were invariably concerned with meaningless materials such as unrelated numbers, nonsense syllables which there was no sense of learning in the first place. Learning activities directed to the acquiring of skills and abilities that are to be retained by the learner in terms of his own desires and purposes do not suffer this loss. Many of us have been surprised after a lapse of a few years to find ourselves driving a car with approximately as much skill as when we last drove. An artist does not forget how to mix paints because he has been away from his paint pots for a time. The things that are remembered guide our actions, serve as the basis for our attitudes, and are the stuff from which are built our understandings.

Distinctive Human Levels of Learning

Up to this point we have described kinds of learning in which most creatures engage. Animal trainers use them all. There are, however, types of learning that are peculiar to humans—in degree, if not in kind. Comprehensions, understandings, new insights bulk large in human learning. Who among us has not worked long hours on the solution of a puzzle only to have its solution flash into our consciousness and become easy and permanent? We believe that what teachers call “learning to read” is principally the attainment of a flash of insight through which a child catches on that the printed word stands for a word he already uses. All of us can remember flashes of insight, such as catching on to long division, tuning the television, comprehending the cause of the seasons.

The highest level of human learning is the development of understanding, comprehension. The gathering of evidence, reasoning toward dependable conclusions, and the making of plans in terms of these conclusions illustrate distinctive human learning. This book, in the whole, is intended to describe these processes as the highest attainment of mankind's natural endowments.

We deem it wise here to review some of what we might call the science of human behavior and of education. We do not presume to set forth the science in detail, but rather to summarize some facts that seem to us important and offer the reader suggestions for extensive and detailed study of them.

Learning Is Whole

The human organism, as well as the amoeba, functions as a whole. I am writing with a pencil. I hold the pencil with my fingers. It is improper to say my fingers hold the pencil. Were I to lose my right hand, I should learn to use the pencil with my left hand. Were I to lose both hands, I should learn to hold the pencil with a mechanical hook or perhaps my toes.

The body is sick when a part of it escapes the control of all of it. The personality is sick when a part of the personality escapes the control of the whole of the personality. A family, a school, a nation, a world is sick when a part of it becomes more important than all of it. Wholeness, as distinct from partsomeness, is a central principle of life. "An inappropriate degree of independence or dominance of a partial pattern constitutes abnormality or perversion of behavior."³



Experience Creates Central Nervous System

The central nervous system is called into being by experience. Neurology tells us that the central nervous system grows in extent and in organization as the result of neural impulses travelling over already established neural connections. This process, which is as yet imperfectly understood, stimulates the growth of neighboring undeveloped neurons. The great lesson that we are to

³ G. E. Coghill, "The Early Development of Behavior in Amblystoma and in Man," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, Vol. 21 (1929), 989.

learn from this fact is that we cannot neglect little children and expect to grow fine persons by the most cleverly arranged schemes when they are older. This principle has extensive and powerful validations. Consider, for example, the facts so clearly described in the works of Clifford Shaw⁴ which show that in our city slums we have produced dull and delinquent personality in excessive amounts for several generations. The American Indian wandered cold and hungry and prematurely aged over this richest of all continents because he engaged in a static education, teaching his children by instruction just what his elders knew, clinging to tribal ways, afraid of new and blasphemous ideas.

Culture Affects Personality

We regard that cluster of studies known as the Iowa Studies (so well summarized by George Stoddard⁵) as among our most significant contributions to the science of human behavior. They reveal a decided developmental response to cultural pull upon the human personality. Infant children of most unpromising parents adopted into normal homes developed into the same kinds of persons as the biological children of their adopted neighborhoods. Children who attended nursery school in their early years attained higher levels of intellectual development through a higher pitch of the rate of development. Children moved from favorable to less favorable spheres for growth, such as from orphanages to institutions for the feeble-minded, tended to develop less rapidly than before.

We can say with certainty that the quality of the child's living markedly affects the quality of his personal development, not only in his opportunity to learn better things, but also in the quality of his central nervous system through which the higher forms of human behavior are achieved. Certainly we can say with complete assurance that the day-to-day living of a child is built into his physical organism, that the quality of his experience is the crucial factor in determining the quality of his developing personality, that society must provide the kind of experience which

⁴ Clifford Robe Shaw, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942).

⁵ George D. Stoddard, *The Meaning of Intelligence* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943).

we wish to build into personality. For example, we cannot grow our children in an atmosphere of strict control and expect them to learn to live as freedom-loving children by mastering a few verbalized rules.

Principles Affect School Practice

The foregoing principles bear heavily upon a school's practice in grouping children, in promoting them, and in reporting to their parents. For example, it is common practice to hold back a child in school if he is immature. The immaturity of many children results from having grown with people who behave immaturely. These children need the cultural pull of more mature children.

We wonder if the educational profession has matured sufficiently to give up its systematic routine reporting to parents and begin to develop ways of maintaining the kinds of contacts with parents that enhance the quality of feeling between the child and his parents. Parents being many kinds of people must be related to teachers in many kinds of ways.

Any teacher who has experienced that afternoon when parents come to school to discuss their children's report cards must have ringing in his ears such various reactions as these:

"I have complete confidence in your judgment. Let me know if I can help any way. Otherwise I am not concerned about having any kind of formal report about Mike."

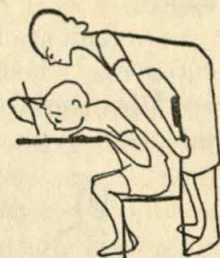
"I want to know how Lloyd stands with his classmates. I want to know exactly how he's doing in arithmetic, spelling, and reading."

"Well, I would like to know generally how Dot is coming along. Just give me a ring on the telephone once in a while or I'll drop by school and we can have a chat."

"You know, Miss Paddy, I don't care about Tom's marks, but his dad wants to be sure his grades will let him get into Yale."

In terms of the foregoing principles about learning, it must be clear that the concern of the school for learning subject matter and skills can be realized only as subject matter and skills function genuinely and realistically in the life of the learner. At all stages of development learning activities must seem to the learner to be related to his real concerns and his genuine needs.

In the long run, the degree of goodness and worth of a person and a society will be seen in the degree of overlap between its needs and its desires and conscious purposes. For a child to drill in establishing a process or even a habit that he does not comprehend for a purpose that he does not accept is to practice confusion, error, and distaste. Practice makes perfect only after the process is understood. It is most unwise for the teacher to urge the child to participate in speed drills or in competitions or races in activities that he imperfectly comprehends.



Individualized instruction

In a relatively unspoiled child, interests reveal the growing edges of his mind and body. Unless highly and contrarily motivated, the child seldom strongly desires to do something he is not able to do. Doubtless all of us have noted extreme exceptions to this principle. We saw recently a little child who became so furious at his inability to write well that he threw down his pencil and seemed resolved never to write again. His brain is more competent with language than his muscles are with fine movements. His frustration could be greatly relieved by a typewriter, and it should be, lest he develop permanent aversion to writing.

Skills in communication, those skills that we commonly call the three R's, develop as they function in larger, genuine situations that employ them as instruments in recording, transmitting, and extending experience. We deem it of the greatest importance that the school child be able to communicate fully in terms of his interest and concerns regardless of his own individual skill in writing, reading, or calculating. A three-year-old can write quite well by dictation, as do numerous highly educated persons. A four-year-old can enjoy reading by having someone else read to him, as does a person with poor vision and pleasant friends. At all stages of human development in our culture, reading and writing are important. They must never be crucial to a child's functioning in a group with significance, productiveness, and complete self-respect.

We doubt very much the wisdom of grouping children in accord with the levels of their skills. Children of relatively equal skill have little to learn from each other. This alone would invalidate

the practice of homogeneous grouping. Certainly it greatly restricts the richness of experience. We discuss many valid acceptable ways of grouping that make sense to the child in a later chapter.

Appreciations of the finer things of life have become common objectives of school teaching in recent times. We elders are quite eager that our children shall appreciate beauty in sensory experiences. With high purpose we have required them to read fine literature, to view lovely pictures, to hear and make beautiful music. We must ponder the fact that appreciation can be learned only through gratifying experience. The only valid test of any scheme for teaching appreciation is the quality of experience of the learner. We deplore the frequency with which books are closed in disgust with the remark, "I never want to see that book again."



We have been trying to establish the idea that most of human learning does not result from deliberate conscious instruction but rather from the interrelationships of human beings as they develop in social situations. More and more we are recognizing the role of the teacher as that of expediter, stage manager, quarterback, rather than as instructor, coach, or trainer. Educators arrange facilities, provide materials and gadgets, manage social relationships and activities which promise rich, worth-while, productive living for children. Our profession is becoming mature enough to evaluate its efforts in terms of human behavior. We are abandoning the use of terms such as *should* and *deserve*. We evaluate the worth of our endeavors in terms of the quality of living of every child. We cannot bury our mistakes or sweep our dirt under the rug. We are accepting the challenge expressed by Brock Chisholm⁶ that a mature society will show its final mark of approval of an individual in allowing him to teach the young.

⁶G. B. Chisholm, "The Psychiatry of Enduring Peace and Social Progress," *Psychiatry*, IX, No. 1 (February, 1946).

6

Change as continuous creation

CREATION of the earth as part of the universe and including mankind is a process now going on, not an event of the past. It is the process of eternity. In terms that we can conceive and perceive it, eternity runs in both directions, into the past and into the future.

The earth is ever-changing, even in ways perceptible to us during a lifetime. Rivers change their courses; waterfalls, such as Niagara, recede several feet a year leaving deep gorges. Prairies, bare hillsides we knew as children become wooded. Valleys become lakes. What is the image of God that we see in man? It is the ability to participate in creation.

Man Helps to Create the Earth and Himself

Man does not have to accept the earth nor himself as he finds them. Manhattan Island was once a barren rock not worth twenty-four dollars to the Indians as they then lived. Much of Holland was once a floor of the sea. The Isthmus of Panama was a frustrating barrier to the travels of Magellan. Vast expanses of American land were desert wastes until man's creative genius brought water to them and transformed them into fertile, productive soil. Man can help create the earth.

We do much to create ourselves. By taking thought and appropriate action we can make ourselves stronger, fatter, thinner, more beautiful, more skillful. By refusal or failure to maintain control of our lives, we can deteriorate into heaps of useless flesh and bones. Newly developed textiles, drugs, and cosmetics enable us to be and to seem to be much more radiant and more comfortable than were our grandparents.

Life Is Continuing Change

All life is a process of change. The only satisfactory definition we have of death is that it is the point at which change ceases. In your body there is not a cell that was there seven years ago. This tells us with no room for doubt that the human personality is a process, not merely structured protoplasm. The growth and development of the body is a process of the division and growth and specialization of cells. Only the reproductive cells do not change. All biological organisms begin as a single cell, develop in orderly ways through predetermined patterns, and ultimately fade away.

Ways of Living Changed Rapidly

We who live in this twentieth century have observed remarkable changes in the ways of living. In gadgets, tools, and processes we have seen more change than took place in all history before us. We can sit in our homes and see and hear the happenings that take place anywhere on the earth. Important news comes to us almost as it happens. We can travel to any place on the earth in a day or two. Anyone with a telephone and credit at a grocery store can have in a few minutes the products of all the world. *Today, one must change rapidly in order to stand still.*

Our improved tools, which are really extensions of the strength and skills of man's hands, and improved sources of energy have made it possible for the individual worker to be much more highly productive than was his grandfather. The typical wage earner today works forty hours a week to earn his living, leaving him about eighteen hours a day on the average free for living as he chooses. His grandfather worked from dawn to dusk to keep body and soul together and is a little unhappy that his grandchildren do not do likewise.

Change Not Necessarily Improvement

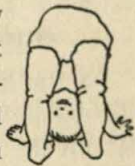
Change is not necessarily improvement. Much resistance to change stems from the implication that change is always from worse to better, or from better to worse. But when we decide to adopt a new hairdo or listen to a different kind of music or

play different games, we are not confessing that we have been doing wrong. We are merely changing.

George Washington's inauguration was delayed several weeks in order that he could travel from his home in Virginia to New York City. President Eisenhower goes to Korea or Europe for a day or two with no anticipation of difficulty or delay. George Washington did not refuse to ride in an airplane. There was none. Nor is Mr. Eisenhower wrong in not travelling by stagecoach and horseback as did George Washington.

Human Capacities Change with Age

Human capacities wax and wane as do all other features of life. Probably the maximum ability to gain food by sucking is reached by two or three months of age. The ability to stand prolonged, constant body activity is highest at ages three to five. The senses are most acute in adolescence. Reaction-time is swiftest between twenty and twenty-five years of age. The apex of physical strength comes at about thirty years of age. Thorndike found that mental acuity reaches its zenith at about age twenty-eight. We like to believe, but cannot prove, that the ultimate of wisdom comes somewhat later.



An interesting phenomenon of nature is the fact that interests are our best evidences of dawning capacities. The infant is much interested in food because he needs it and can get it. The young child is interested in perpetual activity because his growing muscles must move. The adolescent flirts and preens as the reproductive system responds to nature's intent. It is of the utmost importance that these waxing and waning abilities and interests be accepted as valid and valuable by those who would guide the development of the young.

Educators need to learn more than we now know about the role of bodily change in the development of the personality. For example, there is considerable evidence that the eyes of six- and seven-year-olds are not ready to focus on objects as close as reading material and seat work. To require or to sharply motivate extensive focusing on close objects probably does considerable damage to the vision of children. Hollywood recognizes this by

putting glasses on children portraying bookish roles in movies. Growing muscles constantly change in structure. It seems quite likely that training to sharpen physical skills during the period of muscular growth tends to interrupt development of those skills. That is, to train a seven-year-old child to do ballet just as a twenty-year-old ballerina would do it probably assures us that the seven-year-old will not develop into a ballerina. Human beings would be much more comfortable and less frustrated if they accepted the facts that constant, meaningful physical change occurs throughout life and that these changes alter the functioning of the personality in terms of interests, values, and abilities.



Human Institutions Change with Industrialization

As the human body and its circumstances change constantly throughout life, so ways of living and human institutions change. About the time of World War I the coming of the automobile and knowledge of germs in the air dictated that hitching posts for horses should be eliminated from the Main Streets of America. Numerous towns and villages were boycotted by neighboring farmers for making this radical change. Today, hitching posts exist almost only on television programs.

When the coal mines were established and the early industrial plants were built, walking was the principal means of travelling to and from work. Thus homes were built close to factories and mines. Today, with rapid transportation, no reason exists for families living near industrial fumes and noise. The movies, the automobile, and the mail order catalog have made it impossible to distinguish the city dwellers from the farmer at a glance. When the grandfathers of the current generation of school children stayed out until midnight, their elders assumed that they had been up to no good. Today, teen-agers start their parties at about the time that grandma was expected to get home. This change may have resulted from the fact that a good many youngsters work in the earlier part of the evening and that dad doesn't get home from work with the car until after dark.

Few families produce their own food today. Even the farmer eats little of what he grows. One of the most important problems

of American civilization is the fact that the average family has lost its yard, garden, cow, and chickens. When most Americans lived by farming and by operating small shops, they grew and produced the things they needed. They owned their own homes, each on a separate piece of land. Thus there was little threat of eviction from homes or immediate want of food. They sold their spare time for wages and were thus able to have extra items in their lives. Today the average American produces no visible goods but his salary check. This is a serious threat to his comfort and security. This change has brought new forms of social security against unemployment, ill health, and old age. Industry and organized labor are trying to work out means by which the laborer may have a guaranteed annual wage.

During the twentieth century the population of America changed from being predominately child population to being predominately adult. Not many years ago every earner supported two people. Today the ratio is reversed. While the birth rate has gone down remarkably, our current increase of births over deaths is about two to one. Nearly all our babies are growing up; just a century ago, about three babies in ten grew to maturity. Probably babies are not born any more hearty now than they were then, but changes in sanitation, knowledge of the causes of sickness, better food, and immunization have eliminated the child-killers from our civilization.

The change that has taken place in our schools will be of particular interest to the readers of this book. Common schools came into our culture with the invention of cheap and inexpensive paper-making and printing. Only since America was founded has it been thought desirable for the average man to be able to read and write. The early school laws of America required that communities should maintain schools in which the children would learn to read the Scriptures. Originally the school had no purpose other than to read and write and do simple calculation. When the supply of preachers diminished in the early colonies, a few colleges were established to train young men for the ministry. Since all the Scriptural writings and most other scholarly works were written in Latin or Greek, it was necessary for a young man to be able to read Latin and Greek in order to study for the ministry. Thus Latin and Greek came into our schools as voca-

tional subjects. Later when public lands were being divided among the citizens, surveying was important. George Washington studied geometry, not to discipline his mind, but to learn how

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to measure and to describe plots of ground. Thus geometry came into the schools as a vocational subject.

The people noted that the young men who had been to school and learned Latin and Greek and geometry prospered more than those who had not studied them. In the surge of popular democracy, they demanded these things for their children. In the minds of many substantial citizens Latin, Greek, and mathematics remain fixed as the fundamental bases of genuine education, despite the long-ago disappearance of the need that brought them into the schools.

Early American schools were in session at times when the children were not needed on the farm. The summer vacation persists, although in a good many areas it makes more sense to close schools for two or three months in the winter. Today a few communities are beginning to operate their schools throughout the year, with teachers and pupils having a few weeks off in terms of their own wishes and convenience.

Today we look upon the schools as being expressions of adult concern for children. Our homes are not really built for children. Individual homes, even neighborhoods, do not have enough space for children. Individual homes cannot afford to own all the books and other gadgets that children need. Today's school is far more than a place or a method for learning the three R's. We like to say that a school is the best cultural arrangement that it is possible for a community to make for its children.

Methods of Producing Goods—the Fundamental Change

The big change in recent times has been in methods of producing the goods of life. All modern production has become the result of cooperation. Cooperation imposes interdependency upon us. We have become our brother's keeper whether we know him or not, or whether we like him. Most of the people of the world applaud this change. It is now possible for us to work and

produce things in order to live well, rather than to live merely to work. Our new ways of producing goods and distributing them require us to live cooperatively with all men everywhere. We live today in a vast network of interdependence.

Change in Values, Attitudes Lagging

Some of our values and attitudes and traditions have not changed sufficiently to permit us to live with our new machines and schemes. The school has remained largely individualistic and contentious. Children are commonly motivated to outdo each other and to gain satisfaction from the lesser achievements of their schoolmates with whom they must learn to cooperate. We believe the school would do well to examine its procedures most carefully and make changes in values and practices in keeping with the development of cooperation as the principal means of creating productively in the world.

Unevenness of Change a Problem

One of the major problems today is the tremendous unevenness of change in the world. Although the human body has retained the same basic characteristics in all portions of the world through the ages, the tools for living for some of us have changed remarkably in recent times and for others have remained exactly the same for centuries. To be sure, college-age girls in our culture are a size larger than their mothers because they have been better fed and more active, but numerous people in other cultures in the world have never worn shoes. Fully half the world lives and works just as did their ancestors fifty generations removed. Most of the world's farmers continue to plow with sticks pulled by cattle or women or any creature that can be used. The typical worker of the Asian continent earns less in a year than the typical American wage earner earns in a month. The Russian Revolution and the current behavior of the Russian government can be scantily understood apart from the knowledge that political changes in Russia were delayed one hundred years. A generation ago Russia was an absolute monarchy; there were but five universities in all Russia. It is not surprising that Russians behave as adolescents with many evidences of widespread schizophrenia.

Individuals and Institutions Find Advantage in Remaining Fixed

Always there are people and groups who find advantage in things as they are, and prefer them to remain unchanged. A little child, although liking to grow up, tends to cling to the advantages of his babyhood. The owner of slum property, getting profitable rentals with little expense, tends to oppose their replacement by public, non-profit housing. New Yorkers have long opposed strenuously the development of the St. Lawrence waterway which will make shipping more convenient and cheaper for much of America but will likely take business away from the Port of New York.



When America was young it was organized politically into countries that had capitals or county seats to which every citizen could travel and return home in a day. This county was the citizen's government as he felt the need for and used it. Today the county system makes no sense. New York City includes five counties. Rural citizens can travel across a dozen counties in a day. Yet the numerous county officials and their friends and relatives would doubtless defeat any proposals to modernize their political organization. The workers of Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Washington come from several states yet they cling to varied systems of taxation and oppose an over-all consistent system of state or national taxation.

One of man's favorite songs is "Rock of Ages." We like the security of the familiar. We tend to think well of the way we have lived. It is rather normal for us to believe that the kind of education that made us what we are is right for our children.



One of the authors of this book was one day exhorting a group of rural school teachers to stop aping the city schools and to take advantage of their informal, ungraded schools in the country. At the close of this exhortation a small elderly man rushed up to him and said emphatically, "That's a heck of a necktie you've got on." And followed in a moment with a query, "You didn't like that, did you? Well, let me tell you, folks likes their ideas even better than their neckties."

He had been made uncomfortable by suggestions for making sharp changes in his ways of teaching. It was necessary for his self-esteem for him to believe that he was already doing pretty well.

An important source of maladjustment of the personality and of all social institutions is unevenness of change. Often the oversized child with normal mental development has a bad time of it with his elders because they expect him to act in accordance with his size. The youngster who becomes devoted to scholarship because of lack of adequate social development becomes increasingly a problem to himself, although teachers tend to applaud him. A great deal of harm is done the world by men of substance who have not outgrown their adolescence and who have a tendency to throw their weight around. The adult who has never been able to free himself from the domination of his parents is often judged devoted and generous. We deem it of great importance that teachers and parents shall value children in their own terms.

Human institutions arise as groups endeavor to satisfy their needs. Daniel Boone was not a Boy Scout. Scouting arose with city life in recognition of the need of youngsters to go about in groups and keep relatively close to nature. At seventy-three Jefferson penned these words of wisdom which we record in bronze letters but often fail to heed:

But laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths discovered and manners and opinions change, with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors.¹

It is interesting and rather sad to note how quickly institutions grow old. Originally they are set up to serve people. Soon they set down principles, develop ways of procedure that tend to become fixed. Soon they are appealing for the loyalty, conformity, devotion, and support of the persons they originally set out to serve. It appears that demands for loyalty are important

¹ Thomas Jefferson in a letter to Samuel Kercheval from his home at Monticello, July 12, 1816. (Recorded in interior wall of Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D. C.)

early signs of decay of social institutions. Any institution finding it necessary to demand the loyalty of the people it presumes to serve must recognize the simple fact that it has failed to keep up with the times. Probably the most revolutionary statement in the history of human expression is, "Man was not made for the Sabbath; the Sabbath was made for man."

Failure to Change Brings Misery

But failure to change, to go along with creation, results in perversion, misery, degradation, violence, and untimely death. Enlightened Londoners knew long before Dickens' time that they should clear out their slums. Instead of doing it by deliberate, creative planning they left it to the bombs of the mad Hitler. The Congress of the United States cannot possibly function today as a calm, deliberate assembly of responsible representatives of the people as our constitutional fathers envisioned it. It has become a complex organization of committees, professional staff members, organized lobbying. A visitor to the Congress sees little of what was described in his civics book as the methodology of Congressional endeavor. Certainly we know that the attempt to seek security in things as they are whether it be for a person, an institution, or a nation is doomed to result in failure. Our only security lies in developing skills in anticipating and managing change.



Always there are those among us who seek to stem the tide of creation or to exert force contrary to it. These are the evil ones. Man's orderly progress toward cooperation has been constantly retarded by the beneficiaries of the

status quo.

We might at this point illustrate some of the methods by which creative processes are thwarted. The personality needing to maintain its own integrity and security is exploited by threats of dire consequences that will result from change. The history of man's fears might be written in terms of the use of color words intended to inspire fear. Currently our genuine fear of some communists is being extended and exploited to the point that any person or idea can be discredited by the simple inquiry, "Isn't he,

or isn't it, communistic?" Every age and region develops its opprobrious terms with which to oppose change. Change in the practices of schools has been markedly frustrated by making the term "progressive" a nasty one. We should look upon a progressive educator as we would a progressive physician or a progressive farmer—one who does the best that he knows how in the light of up-to-date knowledge and facilities. We know some individuals who deplore progress in education who have already engaged the ministrations of progressive morticians.

Some of the processes of social relationships are being expertly employed to prevent change. Influential legislators in our national and state governments kill legislation by referral back to committee. Complex administrative structure often makes change so difficult to attain that individuals desiring to change become weary and cease to bother.

Security Requires Expectancy of Change in Ourselves and in Our Roles

Constructive change can take place only on a firm base of personal and social security. People who are worried about their safety, about their continuing status cannot think clearly about change. The homesick child is usually the child whose home is so unsatisfactory that he tries frantically to find in that home what he knows is lacking. Probably early America was able to make its revolutionary changes because every citizen felt reasonably safe and secure in this new land, a piece of which was his own source of livelihood.

To be long secure, the individual must expect and welcome change in his status. Pity the poor athletic star who does not anticipate the waning of his distinctive skills and the applause they have brought him. How miserable is the glamour girl whose charms are fading and who has formed no other values by which to live. How unhappy the deposed leader whose followers have turned to other people. Many parents experience extreme misery as the result of not anticipating the fact that their cuddly infants will sometime crawl off their laps and prefer to be with other people.

Throughout our lives our status among our friends, associates,



and within the institutions and groups with which we work must change. Often the baby of the family being the last to attain maturity and readiness to fly from the nest remains as the keeper of the nest. Some of us, seeing our former students occupying responsible positions, tend to exclaim within ourselves, "Why I knew you when you were nobody!" We must expect to change. Our associates must expect us to change and to occupy different roles as we change.



"I knew her when . . ." adjustment to these completely normal changes in relationships.

The only security is to be found in a feeling of adequacy to deal with new conditions and new circumstances. Having accepted the fact of change as the method of creation, we cannot educate for fixed circumstances. The middle-aged physician who now practices just what he learned in medical school is guilty of negligence. Most workers today carry on processes that did not exist when they were in training.

Of one thing the teacher may be sure: If he teaches now just as he taught a different group last year, he was wrong, then, or is wrong now.

One of life's hardest adjustments, and it is a severe social problem, is that of having lived a successful, useful, productive life, having administered to the needs of many people and suddenly being retired into uselessness. We have abundant evidence that retired workers live a relatively short time after retirement unless they have made some plans for continued usefulness. At the present time we have no education for that role. Most of us dread the anticipation, to say nothing of the realization of retirement. The new study of geriatrics, which might be called the care and feeding of the aged, has much promise and will occupy increasing amounts of attention. Many personalities die long before their

bodies are buried through being denied continuous participation in creation.

We believe that the schools of American communities should accept responsibility for stimulating continuous community activity in the interests of elderly persons who can no longer do the work through which they have made their living and reared their families. Throughout his life from early infancy until death, every human being must feel that he has participated in creation. Otherwise he becomes an enemy of all creation as the child who topples another child's block tower and the aged tycoon who holds down the creative powers of his underlings.

Being a part of nature, man must participate in the processes thereof. We cannot go contrary to nature. We can improve upon and extend the forces of nature. Nature strives for quantity, not quality. More than a century ago Malthus observed that population grows much faster than does the food supply. Some scientists now see the maximum beyond which the earth cannot be made to produce more food for the support of animal life on the earth. Malthus observed that nature keeps down the population or keeps population and goods in balance through war, pestilence, and famine. We can now control those pestilences. Few humans anywhere glorify war. We can relieve population pressures. This generation has seen how the need for living space in Japan, Italy, and Germany, despite the high levels of their culture and schooling, has caused violent upheavals. The doctrine of Malthus is valid unless intelligent, creative planning intervenes.

Ideally creative change among the people takes place on the base of full expression of the wants and wishes of all the persons concerned. We must learn how to provide ways for all people to express themselves, to make their wants and wishes known, and to obtain more immediate action through marshalling materials and skills and personal resources. The remainder of this book takes a look at what it means to live in the mid-twentieth century and then spells out procedures for group planning and the organization of group endeavor to meet human needs.

SECTION II

**What does it mean to live in
mid-twentieth century?**

SECTION II

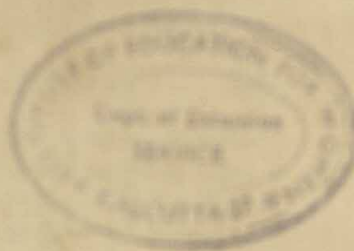
What does it mean to live in
the twentieth century?



Courtesy Mary Gibson Sky Hollow Farm



Courtesy Robert Walker



Teaching the new fundamentals

THE schools of our land were established to teach the fundamentals. In America the fundamentals have always been the pressing new needs of the people. Our nation was established



and the common school was conceived shortly after inexpensive paper-making and printing made it possible for printed matter to be circulated among the citizens. In those early days the pressing of our new democracy required an informed and articulate citizenry. The only means of communicating with people to whom one could not speak directly was through writing. Thus writing and reading became the urgent fundamentals of that time. They were pressing new needs, for they were skills not at that time common among the people. Tom Paine's *Common Sense* could not have had much effect among people unable to read.

The schools were established to teach reading to the children of people who were illiterate for the most part. Today most adults can read. Children grow up in homes where people communicate through writing and who daily bring printed matter into the home. In our time it is quite difficult to *persuade* a child's learning to read. When money was introduced into our culture and the values of many of the goods of life came to be expressed in abstract quantitative terms, arithmetic became fundamental to the daily living of our people. Later we came to know much about the health of the body, and the conditions essential to maintaining health. Then it became necessary that our children know something of physiology and hygiene.

The pressing new needs of our day are the skills in living and

working together, in learning how to think together before we create world-wide chaos. The airplane and the atomic bomb are forcing this fundamental upon us just as surely as the printing press and the surge of democracy forced literacy upon our founding fathers.

The enemies of the people of the world change little through the course of history. They continue to be hunger, disease, and war. Mankind knows how to produce food, to prevent disease, to maintain health, and to resolve conflicts through cooperative endeavor without recourse to war. Unless we accept the validity of dictatorship in which a few knowing and powerful people control the activities of vast populations, we must recognize, analyze, and resolve the pressing new problems facing us as we attempt to live peacefully in an age that has created infinite capacity to destroy.

We are able now to spread information with ease and immediacy throughout the world. How are people to learn to judge the reliability of information? Modern methods of production have moved the bulk of populations into cities. How can people learn to manage their cities so that the urban population is satisfied rather than engaged in constant nostalgia for the country? People of many communities today spend more money on sending their children to the country for a few weeks in the summer than they spend on their schooling throughout the year. Surveys show a majority of the residents of some sections stating that they can stand the city only because they can get out of it during the summer. Modern industrial methods have little use for children or for elderly people. Meantime medical science keeps practically all the children alive and prolongs life far beyond the age that government, business, and academic interests have set for their retirement. How can we live in mid-twentieth century so as to make room and find a useful place for the very young and the very old? Man has time on his hands today. How can we learn ways of spending the time not now needed for productive work? We have learned to transmit power from its natural sources through electricity to remote places. Can we learn to use the power we need without exhausting the natural resources that produce it? These are examples of pressing current problems that exist not because we lack the material resources or the technical skills to cope with them but because we have not developed

enough capacity in group intelligence or morally responsible character to solve them. Wherever man's collective intelligence has been applied to his problems in an atmosphere of moral responsibility, he has improved the lives of people.

In his inaugural address in 1949, President Truman stated, "More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people."

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief description of some of the more crucial problems to which we must apply our collective wits. Learning to cope with these problems defines the fundamentals of education for our time. Education is the method whereby we may hope to learn to make the necessary applications of technical knowledge to human motivations, perceptions, interests, and skills in such ways that all humanity is served.

Population Increase—Food and Water

Today about 2,350,000,000 people live on this planet. Julian Huxley estimates a world of about 3,000,000,000 by the year 2000. The earth's population has doubled within the last century and is increasing at an accelerated rate. Some of us are surprised to learn that currently the most rapid acceleration of population increase is in the Americas, not in Asia or in Europe. Our post-war rate of births is as high as in the Asiatic families. Tomorrow morning as we crunch our breakfast toast there will be 200,000 more mouths to feed than there were this morning.

Today about half the world's population goes to bed hungry each night. At the same time obesity and over-indulgence in food and drink is a major health problem in the United States. For several decades, except during wars the United States has limited the production of food in this country. Meantime hungry people in other parts of the world are eager to make goods that they would gladly exchange for our over-abundant food. The land economists tell us that we know enough now and have soil adequate to produce food for everyone in the world to have nourish-

ing diets. During recent wars we have found that we can distribute food throughout the world.

While we argue about how to dispose of our surpluses, children are starving in other parts of the world and we are winning the name of Uncle Shylock with many people. No one among us wants this condition to persist. It is a staggering problem that must be met by learning how not only to produce food, but to distribute and exchange goods so that all people may live adequately and in the essential knowledge that they support themselves. Since we have recently found it necessary to help Asiatics learn how to make explosives and steel, the solution to this problem becomes fundamental to our survival.



"All's well in my world!"

Adequate water supply is quite as fundamental as food supply. An increasing hazard to a vast percentage of the populated areas of the earth is inadequate and undependable water supply. A number of America's largest cities bring water for hundreds of miles. The earth has adequate water. Man can use only the water that is raised from the sea by the sun and dropped on the earth in the form of rain or snow. Nature carries on this process in adequate abundance. We need to learn to conserve and use it beneficially. In the United States we have numerous disputes among states and communities over the allocation of water supply from river sources. These disputes have raged since the west was settled by the white man. Similarly, during most of this generation we have been arguing vehemently about various means of controlling and harnessing the power of vast streams rushing to the oceans. As we have cleared our land, improved drainage, and built excellent ditches beside all our fine roads, we have caused this water to rush to the sea in a manner not only unproductive for mankind but also creating increasingly serious destruction to large areas of farm land.



The technicians and the scientists know how to control the flow of normal amounts of rainfall to the sea and to use its energy and cleansing and botanical power as it flows. Indulging in the blasphemy of seeking for ourselves a privileged use of God's green

earth, we have thus far failed to use any considerable amount of our technical and scientific skill in solving this problem. Thus the problem is one of morality. How do we apply democratic processes to redirect selfish interests and extend them into a consideration of the needs of all people? How can we come to understand that every man's security and happiness is bound up with those of his neighbor, though he may live as remotely from him as a Russian peasant or an Indian diplomat? The school can help build these concepts and seek solutions to the problems they present.

No discussion of food and water is adequate without consideration of the way in which man uses his natural resources. Man has too long considered himself outside the forces and conflicts of the processes of nature. He has defied the laws of nature in many ways, such as denuding large areas of the earth of its topsoil by cutting forests more rapidly than they could grow. In Greece, for example, "Originally at least 60 per cent of the country was covered by fine forests. Now little more than 5 per cent is so covered."¹ Much of the earth's surface has been so cultivated that, though it may continue to produce crops, the crops lack health-giving vitamins. A large percentage of the earth's crops have shifted from producing protein and mineral to producing fuel only.

Soil erosion, a result of misuse of the land, is thought by some conservationists to be more dangerous to man's long-run welfare than wars. One expert states, "The destruction wrought over the past century by our modern machinery on the earth's natural resources is so colossal, so staggering, that if unchecked it can lead to the suicide of the whole human race."²

Man has been inclined to counter such points of view by expressing his reliance upon chemicals for rebuilding natural resources and by using substitutes for the products of the land, the forests, and the water supplies. The history of the world, however, seems to say that man must never deplete the earth and leave it less rich than he finds it. He must enhance his opportunities

¹ Fairfield Osborn, *Our Plundered Planet* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1948), p. 104. Copyright 1948 by Fairfield Osborn.

² L. Dudley Stamp, *Land for Tomorrow The Underdeveloped World* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1952), p. 215.

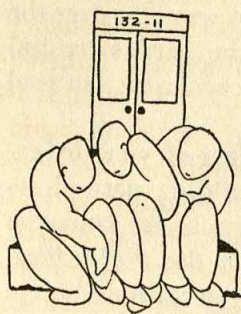
to live well on this planet by considering himself a part of nature and by requiring himself to live in accord with natural biological and physical forces.

Osborn states this problem well:

"Freedom from Want" is an illusory hope unless its pronouncement is coupled with a statement that clearly sets forth the present problem, so that all peoples everywhere may join in common endeavor to resolve it. The tide of the earth's population is rising, the reservoir of the earth's living resources is falling. Technologists may outdo themselves in the creation of artificial substitutes for natural subsistence, and new areas, such as those in tropical or subtropical regions may be adapted to human use, but even such recourses or developments cannot be expected to offset the present terrific attack upon the natural life-giving elements of the earth. There is only one solution: Man must recognize the necessity of cooperating with nature. He must temper his demands and use and conserve the natural living resources of this earth in a manner that alone can provide for the continuation of his civilization. The final answer is to be found only through comprehension of the enduring processes of nature. The time for defiance is at an end.³

Cities

Today over 63 per cent of the people in the United States live in cities. A large percentage of this number live huddled together in sunless, lightless, airless dwellings. Other parts of the



world, too, are experiencing waves of migration cityward. The people of South Africa have come in from the surrounding country and have made thickly populated squatter settlements out of sections of Johannesburg. The people of India are pouring daily into the large population centers. The trend in Russia is toward city living despite official discouragement. A pressing need of our day is to find ways for life to be good in urban

culture.

The air of many cities is so polluted as to constitute a health menace. New York City recently created a Commission on Pollu-

³ Osborn, *Our Plundered Planet*, p. 201.

tion to investigate and make recommendations. Research reveals possible cancer danger from the content of city air. London has its fog, Los Angeles its smog, and New York City its smaze. The fog in London became so threatening that smog masks were distributed free to sufferers of heart or lung disease. In a few weeks thousands sickened and 6000 deaths were linked to the fog.⁴ We read of nylon hose being destroyed by the acids coming from smoke stacks. Foliage grows yellow and dies. Providing clean, fresh air for city dwellers to breathe is a minimum requirement. We will find ways to secure this right whenever we consider it important enough to work together for solutions. St. Louis, Missouri, improved the air by a concentrated drive to control the kind of fuel used in and around the city and by teaching people how to burn it. Anyone living in that city recalls the years of struggle before a city ordinance was passed that improved living for all. By steady, cooperative work by the press, civic and social groups, economic interests, and the energies and thoughts of thousands of citizens, St. Louis has demonstrated that a large urban area can tackle one of its major problems and find ways to neutralize selfishness and indifference.

The city is first of all a place in which people live. If we accept the idea that it is immoral to use people as means, then we must view the city's first task as that of providing good living for its people. Too many city dwellers are forced to live in sub-standard housing. The hearts of many great cities are rotting and consequently serve as fertile breeding grounds for poverty, delinquency, crime, and all kinds of mental and physical illnesses. Tuberculosis in many metropolitan areas is almost completely confined to sub-standard housing districts. Many cities have made beginnings toward providing decent housing for their inhabitants. Frequently, such projects have lacked coordinated planning and we witness housing devoid of play space for children, recreation facilities, even school facilities. Housing that provides only for the physical needs of people and neglects the human problems facing city dwellers is inadequate for minimizing the ills we face in our cities. We have much to learn, much experimenting to carry on, and great opportunities to think together in working for coordi-

⁴ *The New York Times*, January 25, 1953.

nated city planning that considers the human beings that live therein by attending to all the interrelationships between housing, play space, modern schools, and the mental and physical health of the people.

Another threat of the city is its anonymity. We haven't learned yet how to make the city a neighborly place. As long as millions of people feel adrift or alone, our society cannot be healthy. The high incidence of mental illness is devastating testimony of the need for finding ways to increase security. The degree of criminality points to the purposelessness felt by many, especially youth. Juvenile delinquency, mental illness, money madness are symptoms of a sick society. The bigness, the impersonality, the poor housing of cities, and the "me-for-me" attitude of many people in cities accentuate these problems and present gigantic difficulties in finding solutions. E. B. White speaks of the way in which New York City insulates the individual: "The quality in New York that insulates its inhabitants from life may simply weaken them as individuals."⁵

Insecurity

Economists have announced recently that the present unemployment figures are heartening—only approximately 4,000,000 are unemployed in the United States. Our ways of thinking allow us to feel so good about the percentage of employment that we can ignore four million people and their dependents as relatively unimportant. Economic insecurity haunts many who *are* employed. In the sub-consciousness of many of us lurks a heavy fear of losing our jobs. We recall the depression. The high cost of living and high taxes have made "saving for a rainy day" a myth. While social security helps, wage earners with families know how inadequate unemployment compensation is. Current moves to expand and increase social security are encouraging signs of recognition of the ills that insecurity brings.

The mobility of people today adds to insecurity. People are on the move. In the decade from 1940 to 1950 California's population increased almost 4,000,000. Over half of the Standard

⁵ E. B. White, *Here Is New York* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 15-16.

Metropolitan Areas (areas containing at least one central city of 50,000 inhabitants or more) between 1940 and 1950 had an increase in population of 20 per cent or over. Albuquerque area increased 109.9 per cent. Norfolk-Portsmouth area increased 72.3 per cent; and Los Angeles area increased 49.8 per cent. Between April 1950 and April 1951, 31,158,000 of our population (over 20 per cent) moved,⁶ and more than two-thirds of them moved to a different county.

Cities are built in a few months' time as new needs arise. Levittown, New York is an example of such a development. In 1951, 75,000 people lived in Levittown. In 1947, Levittown was a potato field, not even in blueprint stage.⁷ The age distribution of the population of many of these developments is abnormal. Grandparents are few. Children are plentiful. Parents are young, ambitious, and unusually socially mobile. These factors tend to result in a sense of restlessness.

Transportation has made it possible for families to move south in the winter to the extent that many schools in areas favored climatically often double and triple during the winter months.

The sense of not belonging to a community is a double hazard. The individual feels personal insecurity, and he lives in a community that volunteers no interest in him. He is caught in the vicious circle of impersonality. He does not know how to establish relationships. Recently a competent social worker was seeking advice about a personal problem that illustrates the dilemma many face. His six-year-old son had a neurotic teacher who was damaging the boy enough that the father felt impelled to do something about it. The family lived in an apartment building, knew none of the parents of their boy's classmates. They tried to become friends with the teacher and were rebuffed. The principal of the school offered no assistance. The family's answer was to move from the city to the suburbs. This alleviated their problem but did not furnish any clues about how to mobilize and focus group action on a problem facing a group when the members are unknown to each other and live primarily behind the front doors of two- or three-hundred-family apartment buildings.

⁶ *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Printing Office), pp. 18-20.

⁷ *Fortune Magazine*, October 1952, p. 155.

Insecurity is increased by the technology of modern living. More and more work is done outside the home. One of the basic binding powers of the family—productive work—has been taken from the home. Many children have little or no idea what their fathers do to earn a living. Millions of workers have little idea how their specific tasks contribute to a whole product. They know only that they make these motions using this timing so that the assembly line goes along smoothly. This fragmentation of the job brings little satisfaction to the worker. He goes home and takes out his frustration on the wife and kids. Mayo quotes one employee who, after becoming a part of a social group at work, stated that he had “begun taking his wife to the movies in the evenings, a thing he had not done for years.”⁸ In many families the children bear the aggressions of frustrated parents. This is not a plea for a return to the good old days when all members of the family unit worked together to grow a crop, to make a pair of shoes, or to tend a store. There is no returning, but new relationships are urgently needed to fill the void. Social scientists have experimented with family recreation as a substitute for family work, but, in the main, the problem still is untouched. A pressing need of our day is to find some stabilizing influences for families and for larger groups to lessen the insecurities felt by so many, to take away the emptiness. Rollo May describes the effects of this emptiness as follows:

The widespread drug addiction among high-school students in New York City has been quite accurately related to the fact that great numbers of these adolescents have very little to look forward to except the army and unsettled economic conditions, and are without positive, constructive goals. The human being cannot live in a condition of emptiness for very long: if he is not growing toward something, he does not merely stagnate; the pent-up potentialities turn into morbidity and despair, and eventually into destructive activities.⁹

⁸ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Andover, Massachusetts: The Andover Press, 1945), p. 67.

⁹ Rollo May, *Man's Search for Himself* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953), p. 24.

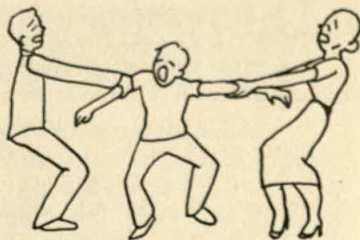


Mental Illness—Crime and Delinquency

Human beings show the tensions of living in various ways. Some find it impossible to face reality; these we call the mentally ill. Others strike out against the society that has rejected them; these we call the delinquents and criminals. These manifestations of severe tension are on the increase and they are most prevalent in highly industrialized parts of the world.

We have improved our attitudes toward mental illness; we no longer sanction chaining the depraved. We do spend most of our time and money, however, treating symptoms and do little about the causes of mental illness. The National Mental Health Association estimates that one child out of every ten has a strong likelihood of needing treatment. In a recent survey of public schools made under the auspices of Columbia University Department of Psychiatry, mental health personnel were found inadequate. Seventeen per cent of the schools reported no mental health services. One psychiatrist is available for every 50,000 children and one psychologist for every 10,964 children. In 80 per cent of the schools, mental hygiene problems were not discussed in the classroom.¹⁰ We spend practically nothing on research in mental illness—a figure of 24 cents per person committed as compared to \$22.00 per person for tuberculosis.

Primary causes for maladjustment among college students seem to be parental friction, lack of warm feelings and emotional flexibility in parents, inconsistent or punitive application of discipline, distorted or squeamish attitudes about toilet and sex activities, and poor neighborhood environment.¹¹ These facts give us more than a hunch that a child has a better chance of meeting the stresses and strains of living if he grows up in a home that provides strong, warm relationships.



¹⁰ Murray Illson, "10% of Pupils in Nation's Schools Are Found Emotionally Disturbed," *New York Times*, February 22, 1954.

¹¹ Dana Farnsworth, *What Is Mental Health in a University?* (Statement Given at New York University School of Education, New York City, March 16, 1953).

Juvenile delinquency is of enough world-wide importance that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommended in 1948 that a study be made of the problem. This has been done and the World Health Organization has issued a statement covering the "opinions and tendencies in Europe and the USA today."¹² On this problem, we have made a beginning toward utilizing group intelligence. We now know the *status quo* of opinion and have available summarized reports of conclusions and recommendations. The conclusions are too lengthy to report in this chapter, but we do wish to quote six pertinent statements:

One of the most definite conclusions of this investigation is that few fields exist in which more serious coercive measures are applied, on such flimsy objective evidence than in that of juvenile delinquency. . . . A large proportion of children and adolescents appearing before the courts have no major physical or psychological abnormality. They are simply the victims of adverse external circumstances, characterized by social insecurity or a too low standard of living, or a combination of both. . . .

The diversity of the etiological factors which have been enumerated leads to the classification of juvenile delinquency as a bio-psycho-social phenomenon (La Fon). It must be studied and attacked from these three angles. . . . It seems to the author that this psychological common denominator can be found in the feeling of insecurity to which any criminal tendency, from whatever source, gives rise. Insecurity gives rise, in its turn, to anxiety. Anxiety, by well-known psychological processes, tends to set free aggressiveness. . . .

In this connection it seems that priority should be given to all those measures which enable a mother to be constantly with her child from birth and during the first three years at least. . . .

The major preventive tasks outlined above can be brought to a successful conclusion only by doctors, psychologists, social workers, re-educators, and magistrates working together in teams. Only in a "multidimensional" view of juvenile delinquency, with corresponding "multidimensional" prophylaxis, can there be any hope of overcoming all these difficult problems.¹³

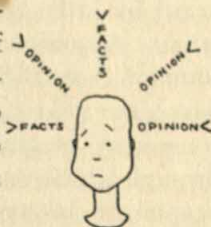
¹² L. Bovet, *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency* (Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, 1951), p. 8.

¹³ Bovet, *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency*, pp. 79-84.

From these conclusions we note the need for man to apply social research to one of our major problems and we see the fundamental importance of a team approach so that a wholeness may be retained.

Need for Reliable Information

How frequently we hear people remark, "I don't know what to believe. I read this in the paper but Mr. X over WKQW said today all that is wrong." How can one *know*? To distinguish between fact and opinion, to be able to read between the lines, to know authentic sources of information, to learn the techniques of comparing first-hand sources, to isolate discrepancies, to understand that figures can be made to lie, to look behind the printed word are pressing needs today. Our literacy rate is high in the United States but are we a gullible people? Are we as interested in teaching a child a degree of skepticism of the printed word as we are in teaching him to call the words correctly? The resources of the mass media are so powerful that captive audiences listen daily to hours of propaganda much of which is biased or fragmentary. We must have a responsible press, responsible radio and film channels if we are to have any success in developing a people that can make reliable decisions in the presence of authentic information. We must learn to evaluate authenticity.



Political Methods

An increasingly urgent problem to the peoples of the world is our immaturity in the use of political methods and institutions. For example, the constitutions of most of our states and of the United States provide that their legislators shall meet in the winter months when there is little farm work to do and deliberate during those idle times upon the enactment of a few items of necessary legislation. Today our Congress and the legislatures of the states carry on many pressing and complex activities. Calm deliberation by representative citizens in the idle months is impossible in contemporary life. Thus our legisla-



tive programs have become hamstrung by devotion to the forms of processes that were once appropriate. Deliberation has been displaced by struggles for political power, the resolving of group pressures, legislation by minorities through committees based on seniority rule, rather than upon current choices and wishes of the people.

Our courts are seldom up-to-date in areas of large population; court cases remain on the dockets for years. While in earlier courts, justice was meted by juries of one's peers, cases are now heard by juries completely uninformed in areas under consideration. Acquaintance with any of the parties in contention is common disqualification for jury service. Our courts frequently have deteriorated into trials by combat, rather than temperate, competent seeking for justice. We have many new devices through which the public can express itself and the wishes of the people can be made known. Opinion polls for instance, when carefully managed, yield a very small percentage of error.

Originally, political parties arose as groups of people who sought to spread and gain popular adoption of points of view. Political parties came into being for rather specific purposes and they faded away with the realization or abandonment of those purposes. Today our political parties assume the qualities of permanency of institutional organization and seek to assume and emphasize points of view and programs that will win support for their perpetuation. The functioning of American political parties has been completely reversed during the last century. It appears now that far too many of our citizens are more loyal to their political affiliation than to their country.

Place for Children

Among the major revolutions of our time has been our changed conception of the place of children in our society. We neither look upon children today as potential wage earners or laborers nor do we consider them puppets to be manipulated or "little beasts" to bring to heel. We have come to see them as people and have gathered much knowledge to help us guide them in their development.

Our social life has not caught up with our knowledge or with our ethics concerning child development. We find relatively few

communities providing conditions essential for the healthy growth of children. We have not learned to raise children in cities, and although more than 60 per cent of us must now live in cities, we continue to say the country is the best place to raise children. Sociologists have learned that the best criterion for the evaluation of the worth of a community is in the quality of its care for children. Although children constitute approximately one-third of our population we spend only about 2 per cent of our national income upon their schooling. This percentage is lower than that of any other modern nation. In 1953-54, 632,000 American children attended school only a portion of the regular school day because they were having to share their facilities. Over 71,000 teachers were teaching with temporary certification. One city child in every eleven was in a class with more than forty other pupils. Commonly, the communities that provide this meager and mean educational opportunity are also ill-fit to accommodate children out of school.

In much of America today it has become illegal to be a child. Childish behavior requires space and relative freedom to be active without excessive danger to the self or to other people's cherished possessions. Children of America suffer much from the influence of the glamour magazines that motivate parents to keep house in a manner that will win approval from people they don't even like and to maintain yards to arouse the envy of their neighbors rather than to accommodate children of the neighborhood. In far too many schools, it is quite against the rule for a child to behave like a child. In our complex, crowded cities it is of the utmost importance that schools be built and maintained as places and arrangements appropriate for childhood living.

Place for Aged

The average life expectancy for our people has doubled since the life of George Washington. Now the average American baby will live to be sixty-eight years of age.

This means that half of them will live to be more than sixty-eight. It is estimated that in the year 1960 10 per cent of our population will be over age sixty-five. In the old farm com-



munity, grandpa and grandma could be useful. Today we retire grandpa at age sixty-five and expect him to remain relatively useless as long as he lives. Great resources of energy, good will, and wisdom are going to waste among our older citizens. A democratic society is concerned with the well-being of all its citizens regardless of their age.

Time to Re-create

The new sources of power and new methods for using power have relieved man from the need for arduous toil from dawn to setting sun merely to satisfy the creature needs of himself and his children. The most profound effects of this development in the world has been the elimination of any need for some men to own and enslave other men as a source of power. The early builders of America had only the muscles of men and animals as a source of energy. Now we can use the power of fuels and of water rushing to the sea, transmitting it by electricity from its source to its point of application. Man can now work to live rather than live to work.

Eight years after the cessation of the food rationing of World War II, the United States had stored up a two-year food supply. Reductions of the production of all food stuff and fibers has become necessary to hold up prices for the producers. The surplus of automobiles alarms manufacturers and the United Auto Workers of America. Of course, not all people have too much food nor does everyone who would like an automobile have one, but no informed person doubts America's ability to provide for all the physical needs of the people through the productive labor of a minority of the population working a minority of its time. The forty-hour work-week is well established. Grandfather felt quite wicked to be idle any time during the daylight except on his Sabbath. Allowing fifty-six hours for sleeping, twenty-one hours for meals, twenty-one hours for household chores, and forty hours for work, a man has over thirty hours remaining each week to live as he chooses.

The pastimes of our grandfathers have largely disappeared. The city man can garden in a window box. He can fish during his vacation, if he can afford the proper uniform and equipment.

He can tend a dog or a cat, but these are meager substitutes for the real productive time-usage of former days.

It is quite clear that we and our children spend a great portion of our free time sitting, watching and hearing other people do things through television, movies, spectator sports. Some people find idleness quite intolerable and many of us are terrified at the prospect of spending some time with ourselves.

The human mind is a self-generating process. It is built in each of us ourselves by our reactions to the experiences we have. We see great danger in human beings allowing other people to determine what goes through their minds during any considerable portion of a day or of a life. A most pressing social problem of our time is to help people learn and gain the facility for genuine living in the time at their disposal for choosing how they will live. In Chapter 9 we discuss at length "The Vitamins of Human Personality." At work and at our chores we can find access to these vitamins. In our free time we must seek and enjoy them.

We know much about the dependable and gratifying human activities. We need to develop lots of respect for spending time zestfully. Schools must place positive values on activities that people find gratifying—visiting with friends, plain talk, bull sessions. From the time he can focus his eyes the human being likes to explore, to learn new things. Throughout man's history the arts—making things, processing—have been gratifying. For our younger and older people who are not wanted at regular productive work, much gratification is available in social services, such as the care and teaching of little children, organizing clubs of older people, political action. A list of needed services would be endless. Many of these services are not yet part of our money economy and thus require the efforts of people who have time to spend on them without thought of monetary remuneration. All of this expenditure of time in our urban culture will require organization and planning in terms of minimum programs in communities. We can no longer leave this to chance.

Flanders Dunbar, in a report to the International Congress of Gerontology, states that centenarians "continued to find their own interest in life. As an example [Miss Dunbar] related how a banker who had turned his business over to his son at the age of

DM promptly had started a new project and had become an organizer of boys' clubs. She also found that a woman of DM was passing prostitution through college by doing needlework and running a gift shop.¹⁰ There seems to be survival power in having deep, shifting interests in life.

In an industrial economy the occupational lines of workers are increasingly partitioned. It is difficult for the man who stops on his way on auto as they move past him on the assembly line to believe he is building a car in which his beloved may ride, or to put his whole heart into watching the loom as it weaves fine fabric without the touch of human hands. Industry is finding that workers are more productive when each feels a part of a whole group.

The wholeness of living is to be found in recreation. Happy is the man whose work is his play, but it is a his horrifying to contemplate the whole-life partitioning of the dough-mixer in a packing house. In recreation one brings the whole of his personality to bear upon an immediate purpose. He may use his muscles, his cunning, his reputation as well as an opposing batter. He may fashion a craftstick from a piece of driftwood. He may keep his legs as well as he is required to keep his desk. No one can positively tell whether how to have recreation, what activities will challenge and activate the whole of his body and concerns. Modern living has become so partitioned that individuals and communities must give thought to providing opportunity, facilities, challenge, and leadership for whole-souled creative activities.

We view with deep concern the current phobias of "get away from it all" activities for occupying leisure time. Mark Twain once observed that "a certain amount of flow is good for a dog. It keeps his mind off being a dog." Various drugs, television, who-done-it's, or playing or watching games can be valuable in themselves—or can take our minds off being people. The flow itself would classify them as beneficial recreation; the second has unbeneficial connotations.



¹⁰ *The New York Times*, "U.S. Communities Sell Supporting," July 25, 1956.

Education may well give special attention to selection of children for their purpose in as long the youngest's minds are being young. We doubt the wisdom of the specialist and excessive drilling for the perfection of public appearances that take much time of many pupils. Secondary schools, particularly, are still good as look in the life of each pupil to make sure he has useful, whole-souled, creative activities. Many schools debate themselves by looking in the excellence of their numerous activities with more regard for Nellie Smith and Emily Jones.

Use of Power

Science civilization has developed more power than it knows how to use wisely. There are too many parents so that it may be directed to constructive purposes rather than for war. In our generation we have worked up excessive power of man and machine. Again from war, an important example of our failure to use power well may be seen in our automobile use. America can put its whole population in automobiles in one line and dash down its highways. On some week ends we try to do this. Over the 1931 three-day Christmas week one American has his life upon the highway every nine minutes. The National Safety Council tells us that speed, which is the uncontrolled use of excessive power, is our great killer. Yet the automobile daily cries upon us the value of more and more powerful vehicles.

Today, sources of power are not immediately available to the citizen. Our furnaces gathered fuel from woods or surface mines. They depended upon sources not at hand for light and transportation. We do not wish to return to those days, but, dramatically, the control of power is now in the hands of people who can manipulate its distribution to the benefit or detriment of humanity. We live very precariously indeed until we learn to control and manage and use our abundant resources of power for the good of all people.

This is wisdom in an atmosphere of deep anxiety about the meaning of atomic energy. As we understand it, what we have learned is to control the release of atomic energy. Thus far, we have used our capacity to control this release only to explode a few very heavy bombs. We should express ourselves to be in a

race with some other men to build the most destructive bomb today. We have some reason to hope that we may be able to think together on how to use our knowledge of the controlled release of the atomic energy as a source of power to ease the burdens of mankind. President Eisenhower has proposed to the world that we set in motion primary discussions about the basic problem of our time, the constructive use of atomic energy.

These, then, are the fundamentals of our day. They are all problems that require the application of our technological skill to increase the "goods" of living for all of us. They are problems of method and because they are, they are problems of the "spirit." The spirit of the methods used, the ways in which we work out our problems of food, water supply, power, use of information, city living, and good living for the old and the young will, we believe, make a vital difference in the quality of our lives. These are the basic, important content of our curriculum, as we see it. We teach children to read and to write that they may be able to think more effectively about these problems and communicate their thoughts to others. We become familiar with our cultural heritage that we may learn vicariously man's past experiences for the purpose of making our lives better today and tomorrow. These fundamentals are the business of the schools. We trust that the children in school today will have more opportunity to work with these fundamentals than we did in our schooling.

8

Some urgent needs of society

MANY wise men of our day seem rather well agreed that our society is ill—that we are “muddling through” in a maelstrom of confused values, personal emptiness, and individual defeatism. We have not dealt effectively with the fundamentals of our day. Most of us agree that our freedoms have been whittled away until their base is dangerously thin. We are staggered by the awesome decisions that are ours to make. So much is expected of mid-twentieth century man—so much knowledge and vision, such breadth of perception and depth of understanding!

“We are perplexed but not in despair.”¹ We dare not despair; this has led us too long to “go about our business as usual.” The first step in nurturing a sick society back to health is to face the fact that we *are* sick. Let us look at the nature of the illness as seen by many serious-minded folks from all walks of life. In this chapter we shall record some of the symptoms that tell us we have neglected the fundamentals and then discuss some methods for improving the health of our world.



Symptoms of Society's Illness

Great numbers of our people are living in crowded city tenements. Never has a generation been bombarded with the stimuli characteristic of today's living. The radio, TV, the movies, the noise of city streets provide a great din that must be adjusted to somehow. In this din are constant, insistent exhortations to fear, to hate, and to defeat.

¹ 2 Corinthians 4:8.

We kill approximately 37,000 people each year on our highways and injure another 2,000,000. Over 2,000,000 major crimes were committed in 1953. Over 100,000 individuals were first admissions to mental hospitals in 1950, and this number did not include intakes by veterans hospitals. More people are in hospitals for mental illnesses than for all other illnesses combined.

We spend our money in strange ways: one-third more for alcohol than for education; one-third as much for cosmetics as for education; five-sevenths as much for tobacco as for education. In our colleges at a time when the world is desperate for trained people, we still evaluate credits on a point basis. We tend to equate competency with number of points earned. We fail to recognize what a man can do and how he behaves. Instead we say, "What courses have you had?"

Today a man may lose his job on the basis of anonymous letters.² Informers are honored, glorified, and treated as heroes.³ Guilt by association operates in many areas of living.⁴ These are some of the dimensions of our illness. As we analyze these symptoms, we believe they make clear three serious deficiencies in our social life. The functioning of altruism, morality, and intelligence has broken down. And because the functioning has broken down at a time when we are so completely interdependent each upon the other, our illness is world-wide. The epidemic proportions of the illness place all of mankind in jeopardy. Killing now is more deadly. Subjection of others is more destroying of dignity and self-respect. Technology has so far outstripped our capacity to live together freely and constructively that it is difficult today to hold a man responsible for his actions. Who is willing to condemn a man who confesses to crimes (perhaps under the influence of drugs) that he did not commit? Some eminent psychiatrists who have experienced brain-washing maintain that no man can withstand the process, as it is now practiced, to destroy human dignity.⁵

² Elmer Davis, *But We Were Born Free* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954).

³ Sidney Hook, "The Problem of the Ex-Communist," *The New York Times Magazine* (July 11, 1954), pp. 7, 24-27.

⁴ Norman Cousins, "God, Man, and the H-Bomb," *The Saturday Review* (May 8, 1954), pp. 22-23.

⁵ Joost A. M. Meerloo, "Pavlov's Dog and Communist Brainwashers," *The New York Times Magazine* (May 9, 1954), pp. 9, 30-33.

Need for Altruism

Society today needs desperately a pervading spirit of altruism, a *feeling with others*, a putting of oneself in the other's place, an active concern for the well-being of others. We call it sympathy or empathy. Our world has grown for us too small to dare to ignore the starving millions in India, the diseased of Africa, the destitute of impoverished Europe, or the warped minds of any wherever they may be. Today we are our brother's keeper and only as we know how our brother feels can we hope to get along with him.

Altruism is not opposed to selfishness; it is an extension of it to include an ever-widening circle of humans. We are born selfish, completely self-centered. We have this in common with the rest of the animal kingdom. But man has a central nervous system which has evolved in such a way as to give him the capacity to be empathic. Heard describes in a fanciful manner the first faint glimmerings of altruism when he relates one of the small creatures' thoughts who had emerged from the swamp as he watched some of the animals who were making unwise choices:

He wasn't thinking of what would happen to them themselves . . . He was actually thinking of the great waterlogged lost-at-sea mammals. And he was wondering whether anything could be done for them, whether they could ever wish themselves back into freedom, or even perhaps, as a last desperate outcome, be wished back by someone else, by someone perhaps who actually gave them some of his wish-power which he hadn't squandered, some of the wish-power which he might have spent on himself.⁶

Another eminent biologist describes the development of that part of the nervous system which regulates the social life of human beings: "It represents the reasoning, valuing, aspiring part of consciousness, and is that part of the psyche which can transcend the immediate and selfish and which makes social or group living a possibility."⁷

⁶ Gerald Heard, *Gabriel and the Creatures* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 70.

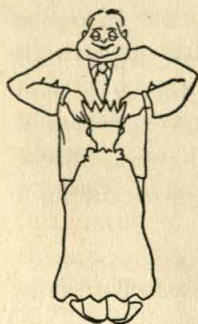
⁷ R. W. Gerard, "Higher Levels of Integration," in *Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Sciences*, ed. Robert Redfield (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942), pp. 72-73.

We show ourselves to be human beings by our capacity to think and to feel with others, to be willing to merge our own selfish interests and desires with those of others, to wish for ourselves nothing which we are unwilling for others to have. Bertrand Russell has stated that this is the supreme test of modern man—to see if he can place altruistic tendencies ahead of his animal, cave-man drives.

Altruism will not thrive in an atmosphere of competition, fault-finding, injustice, nagging, bribing. All setting of individual against another or one group against another must be eliminated. Again we quote Bertrand Russell:

As regards institutions, what is needed is a greatly increased emphasis on cooperation and a greatly diminished emphasis on competition . . . We must realize that the good that individuals and groups can do to each other by cooperation is greater than either can achieve by victorious competition. We must learn generally to be expansive rather than restrictive in our emotions, and, if we succeed in this, we shall find that our feelings towards others tend to be friendly rather than hostile.⁸

The “better-than” concept develops an attitude and expectancy of special privilege that, when applied to adult life, leads groups of people to feel comfortable about excluding other groups from their neighborhoods. This concept leads to the signs on apartments saying, “For Adults Only,” signs on clubs saying, “For Gentiles Only,” and signs on restrooms reading, “For Whites Only.”



Our schools are harassed by well-intentioned civic and social groups that seek to award prizes to the best of the class. In a year's time it is not uncommon to have fifteen or twenty such prize-presenting episodes. Consider that each time the best citizen, the best speller, or the best declaimer is selected the implication is that the others have somehow fallen short. Consider how difficult it is to put oneself in the place of the *best*, if one has clearly been designated less than the best. Our wish is for each and every child to be the

⁸ Bertrand Russell, “How to Be Happy in 1953,” *United Nations World* (January, 1953), pp. 14, 63.

best citizen he can be. Prizes are given for the gratification of the giver, as can be clearly seen in any news photo of prize-giving occasions.

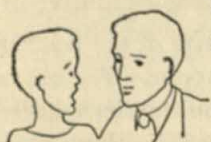
Altruism Essential in School Living

If we are to encourage altruism in the young, we must be adamant about insisting that within the walls of the classroom we shall live with a genuine feeling of respect for others. We shall allow nothing to negate this atmosphere. Children, in common with all of mankind, need desperately to learn to do things for genuine reasons. We are helpful to others not because we receive a merit award but because life for all of us is better if we are helpful. We keep a clean room not for a prize or the praise of the teacher but because we all enjoy living in a clean room. We eat a reasonable lunch not for a gold star but because our bodies require certain kinds of nourishment, and food tastes good. Any other lure to learning cheats the child.

As teachers, we have a special responsibility to protect children from any and all special groups that may not have thought through the grave necessity of developing a climate which encourages altruism. We must help all adults to understand that, in endorsing the individualistic, competitive value of the Middle Ages, we are denying the essence of modern living, where cooperation is a necessity. This is not to deny individual striving, effort, and initiative. Rather, it is to encourage such attributes, but to encourage them for the purpose of making life good and possible for all. It is to maintain that the individual, unique capacities of every one must be utilized to the fullest—not that I may be better than you but that each of us may have mutual satisfactions in life's goodness. This implies a change in the current concept of goodness. This is not to plead for group welfare ahead of individual welfare. The purposes of the two are not at odds. Indeed, no individual can really succeed today unless he learns to work with others nor can anyone enjoy the good life in any full measure unless he learns to play with, enjoy, and appreciate his fellow man without the necessity for feeling "better than" any other. We who teach must understand this concept with our hearts as well as our minds and put it to work in the daily living of the school.

How skillfully we see some teachers developing altruism! The teacher who puts it up to the children over and over again, "How do you suppose Johnny feels about this?" The teacher who says to the group, "What can we do to help Ruth? She needs us, you know." The teacher who helps the children play out their feelings and discuss how they feel as they play.

Teaching is a process of educating responses. We seek to secure higher levels of responses than our ancestors gave, which means our responses as teachers must be of a higher order. We shall develop altruism as we understand how each child in our room feels, as we accept "response-ability" for the rejected, the



hostile, the guilty, the fearful, the gay, the sober, the hoarder, and the sharer. As we show in our daily living that we understand these feelings, we are saying to children, "We accept your feelings. It is all right for you to accept them, too."

When we reach this point of rapport, we have a chance to augment and strengthen those feelings stemming from a concern for others.

One student summarized the quality of altruism as it applies to teaching when he said:

The essential quality in every teacher remains the same: every teacher must have a genuine and personal love for his pupils and for teaching as a profession. The core for the teacher is love for the people around him. Look for the sympathy that appears in any good teacher.

If we believe that altruism must be a pervading spirit of our culture, we must give attention to the kind of responses that children are learning in school. Many a child has learned carefully in school how to gain advantage for himself at the expense of his classmates. Such learnings will continue as long as we motivate responses by rewards that are extraneous to the purposes at hand.

Need for Morality

✓ Our society needs a kind of morality that is consonant with the problems of this atomic age. Frequently we operate on a morality that developed when there was still plenty of elbow room, when, if we didn't like our neighbor, we could move on and probably find

rich living by this move. This is not the case today. We must leave behind us the vindictive, competitive, "eye-for-an-eye, tooth-for-a-tooth" morality. We must recognize that today it is immoral to seek anything superior for ourselves which we are not willing to work to secure for other people.

The morality of our day must be concerned with all the people in the world. We dare not be pompous about what we have. We heard the smugness of an immoral comment recently from a teacher who announced to a group who were teaching in an undesirable neighborhood, "I guess I am just lucky because I teach in a lovely community." Her lovely community is just as vulnerable to an atomic bomb, a work stoppage, a tie-up in communication or transportation as is the teeming city that surrounds and supports her lovely community.

Our expanding and expansive morality today requires us as its followers to include in our everyday activities a consciousness of the peoples of the world. We happen to be living at the exciting point in history when large groups of people are sensing the possibility of good living for the first time and are taking steps to help make life good for themselves and their children. Those of us who just happen to have been born amid adequate food, shelter, health facilities, and education are assuming a moral responsibility to help work for a good life for all. America's Point Four Program is more than an effort to save our skins.

A few figures might be in order at this point. Among the 200,000 babies who are born every twenty-four hours, one in four is white. All the rest are colored. One in three is born into the Judaeo-Christian religion. The rest are all born into other religions. Only one-third of the present population can use the written word and a slightly larger proportion knows what it is to go to bed at night without hunger; about half of the world's population has never had enough to eat.⁹ If one is born colored, he probably will be racked by tuberculosis, malnutrition, typhoid, intestinal parasites. If he is born in India, he has one chance in four to live more than a year, and then only a fifty-fifty chance to grow to maturity. If he is born in the United States, his chances of living to maturity are excellent. Less than three

⁹ Stringfellow Barr, *Citizens of the World* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1952).

babies for every hundred die before the age of one year. The life expectancy of an Indian is twenty-seven years; the life expectancy in the United States is sixty-eight years.

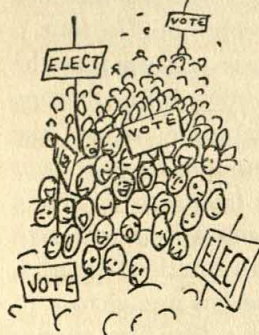
These are inescapable facts that must be reckoned as truces are made, as ideologies are being put to the test. The moral issue of our day is, Can American democracy meet the conditions that prevail and prove itself an ideology of the heart that feels for human beings wherever they are found and in whatever conditions?

This concept of morality has no room for narrow interpretations of nationalistic jingoism. Just as each of the thirteen colonies gave up a portion of its sovereignty that the United States might be formed, so we must now come to understand that world sovereignty is a necessity. We doubt if the United States would ever have come into being if the peoples who lived at that time had not understood that none of the thirteen could survive alone. Today it seems fairly obvious that no country by itself can hope to survive the pressures and threats of our day unless we pool our resources, our energies, and, most important of all, our loyalties. Fortunately, loyalty, like love, is not rationed. Having some concern for the rest of the world doesn't lessen concern for one's own country or backyard. He whose love is encompassing enough to take in the peoples of the world is sure to be one who loves his own country supremely well. The moral individual of today then

is motivated by an active sense of responsibility for the well-being and good feeling of others.

The morality of our day must make careful distinctions between the spurious and genuine in conduct. Our culture is riddled with the spurious. We shall use two examples—propaganda and advertising. In 1952 we had a presidential election. The air was filled with spurious charges and claims.

Newspapers tried to outdo each other in revealing damaging information. Political speech writers burned the night candles to think up ways in which words could be used to mislead. The country was making its most important political decision for the next four years. What a lot



of spurious conduct was perpetrated upon the American people as they tried to make up their minds about the issues. The disinclination to discuss issues in a genuine manner was a notable characteristic of the campaign. One often heard the remark, "But what could you expect in an election? The objective is to *win*." Strange morality that sees beclouding issues as the way to win an election! The frequency with which this remark was made and the acceptance of this way of winning an election are critical commentaries upon the morality of today. If issues and facts and a genuine seeking for truth are not important in an election, then democracy is in a precarious state. We tolerate the betrayal of the public mind by deliberate misinformation and confusion. We even give courses in college to teach skills of legal confusion. This toleration is influencing public morality in a profound way. One group of professional thinkers formulated the changes that seem to be permeating our concept of public morality in the following manner:¹⁰

<i>Accepted Concepts in the Past</i>	<i>Concepts Meeting with Increased Acceptance</i>
Legal guilt is contingent on voluntary acts.	Guilt by historical, accidental, involuntary association.
A person is considered innocent until proven guilty.	An accused is considered guilty until proven innocent.
Maximum protection of the accused until he is proven guilty.	Maximum publicity with or without evidence.
The accused has the right to face his accuser.	The accuser remains anonymous.
Clearing of one's name restores one to self-respect and security.	Even though one's name has been cleared, the fact of accusation may do lasting damage.
Free expression not only permitted but a virtue.	Punishment for exercising this prerogative is advocated.
Contempt for the "informer."	Glorification of the "informer."
The academic teacher as free research worker and teacher.	The academic teacher as bureaucrat and under constant surveillance from above.

¹⁰ The Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry and a Panel Discussion, *Considerations Regarding the Loyalty Oath as a Manifestation of Current Social Tension and Anxiety*, GAP Symposium No. 1 (Topeka, Kansas, October, 1954), p. 2.

An analysis of concepts of morality that are gaining wider and wider acceptance in our public life indicates that they are founded on false notions of conduct. They are not genuine. They are concerned first with the appearance of being rather than with being.

Let's turn to the cult of high pressure advertising. Again we note the predominance of the spurious. One-third of our advertising is devoted to telling us how to look as if we do no work even if we do. The preposterous claims that are made for certain commodities are carefully worded to keep just within the legal



"To reduce, take . . ."

limitations, but they are cunningly designed to prey upon the people, to cause them to spend more than they can afford, for things they don't need, to impress people they don't like. Cigarettes have been widely publicized as soothing to the throat. Miracle drugs will cause you to take off or put on pounds. Some drugs will keep you awake; others send you off to sleep. We are told that, in spite of the prevalence of information about non-prescription

remedies, the amount of money spent for such remedies has increased sharply in the past decade. Sensational bargains await the first twenty who call a special number for vacuum sweepers, sewing machines, television sets, air conditioners, and other like products. In hot weather, the way to bear up under the heat is to serve Eatwell macaroni products. In cold weather Eatwell macaroni products are an unsurpassed source of energy. All of these claims are made without reference to the totality of any situation. They are spurious claims to the captive audiences of radio, television, and newspapers.

Morality Operating in School Living

What does this mean for the teacher? It means a very sensitive and critical examination of how we motivate children. When we motivate children through small group egotisms, narrow group loyalties, we are making the task of building cooperative, inclusive morality more difficult. When we motivate children toward goals that are of no intrinsic value, we condition them for false morality. Children learn morality by living in an environment in which

they are valued because they are useful to the life of the group whose work and purposes have genuine meaning to the children themselves. If we teach children so that these concepts of morality operate in every group in which they are active, they will be ready to assume the responsibility for the well-being of others, no matter in what groups they find themselves. This means, of course, that the activities of the classroom must be of the kind that all can be useful and responsible—not just those with certain kinds of verbal skills.

The Need for Intelligence

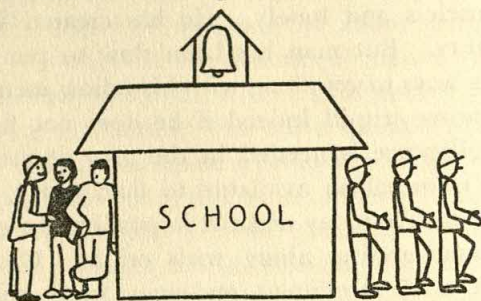
We have said in the chapter on "Functioning of Group Intelligence" that man was designed to think as fish were designed to swim, birds to fly, and kangaroos to jump. By being thoughtful, man has unraveled many of the secrets of the universe. He has learned how to split the atom, how to break the sound barrier, how to kill millions at one whack. He has conquered many of the diseases that have plagued man throughout history. He has lengthened the life-span considerably, but has kept elderly people alive to be useless and lonely. He has created works of awe-inspiring beauty. But man has been slow to put his genius to work evolving ways to get along with his fellow men.

Man will prove stupid indeed if he does not figure out that today his intelligence is needed in the area of group endeavor. The mass of information available to man today, the technical skills required to live today make it impossible for man to be unconcerned about getting along with others. Group planning seems the heart of intelligent endeavor from now on. Alexander¹¹ begins his report on the air age by devoting his first chapter to the inevitability of the air age being a planning age. Group planning has to result in group action if it is to have any meaning. Children who plan for the exercise of planning are being helped to become the doubting Thomases of democracy. Let us repeat that two heads are more than twice as good as one, but only when they seek common purposes. Two heads are more than twice as bad as either one, each seeking contentious purposes.

¹¹ Holmes Alexander, *Tomorrow's Air Age* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954).

Group intelligence in the world today, especially in the United States, is built on respect for the uniqueness of each individual, the utilization of competencies to develop an interesting and satisfying environment for all. Intelligent people respect genuine competency. They are healthily skeptical of the authority of status, but have high regard for the authority of demonstrated wisdom and competency. Intelligent people respect authority that is rooted in democratic principles, but abhor the individual who seeks to place himself above the law of the land.

The current distrust of intelligence in America is alarming. The term "egghead" hurled at those who dare to think is a measure of the values that we hold. Is it any wonder that the nation is disturbed enough about the use of its intelligence to appoint a commission to investigate how intelligence may be discovered and used? We wonder about the tendency to grind everyone down to fit a standard so that no one is distinguishable from his neighbor. Ironical is the reaction of the college that admitted bright, competent youth who had not finished high school, and then made this statement: "In general, the scholars passed during



the year from a condition of conspicuous oddity to a condition where they were admirably indistinguishable from their classmates." ¹² Is this really what we are seeking?

Intelligent Group Action in School Living

What is the meaning of the development of group intelligence for the teacher of today's children? It seems to us that children must be given opportunities every day to exercise group planning and group action. These opportunities must grow in complexity

¹² Benjamin Fine, "Education in Review," *The New York Times*, Section 4, June 21, 1953.

with the age and abilities of the children involved. They must represent situations in which decisions make a difference to the youngsters themselves. They must have an opportunity to put these decisions into operation to see how they work out, to size up the situation to see if changes need to be made, to have the chance to live with their decisions until *they* see the need for reconsidering or continuing the decision.

These group endeavors must help the child learn that advantage is not gained at the expense of someone else, that some goals are worth foregoing immediate pleasures, that planning has to be done within the limitations of the situation, and that higher authority has to be considered as plans are made, but that plans are judged in terms of their outcomes? How well did it work? Were we satisfied? Did we find the experience good for all of us? These are the considerations that must be brought into the group enterprises of boys and girls, if they are to grow into adults, adequate to cope with mid-twentieth century problems.

9

Modern life employs uniqueness

THE pioneer culture of independent farms, small shops, and mills required all-around adequacy of the individual. A grown man was expected to be strong, energetic, industrious, an able hunter, a grower of plants, a builder, a resolute defender, a wise father. A good wife was a competent housekeeper, a processor and preserver of foods, a manufacturer of textiles, a laundress, a gardener, a nurse, a keeper of cows and poultry and their produce, a bearer and rearer of children. A grown man or woman who could not do all of these things was looked upon as odd, a burden to his community. Until lately, people worked very hard all of their waking hours at a great variety of tasks to make a kind of living we would today call distinctly meager.

Through specialization in the use of improved tools and skills, and through improved organization and coordination of attention and effort, we have vastly improved our productivity of amounts and kinds of goods that people need and want in their daily living. Every one of us who earns his living specializes in a more or less narrow skill that the larger group wishes to employ and pay for. The man who does nothing but cut other men's hair can have a house, meat, television, and automobile, although he may not know a pig from a goat at sight and quite likely knows nothing more of television than how to turn it on. His wife can tastefully decorate the home by consulting the competent decorator. This concept of increased production through specialization and division of labor is detailed in Chapter 6. This material advance of mankind is spiritual, to the extent that it fosters those uniquely human qualities.

Man is man because, as proclaimed in the beginning of the

Gospel of St. John, "In the beginning was the Word." As explained by Julian Huxley, man became man ". . . when he acquired the use of verbal concepts and could organize his experience in a common pool. . . . The development of animals is always closed; their evolution is always sooner or later restricted. Man's individual development, on the other hand, is potentially open, it continues throughout his life and takes place in all sorts of directions; while in animals there is only one normal pattern to be realized." ¹ Man is built to be unique, and to live in circumstances uniquely contrived by his own inventiveness, which enables him to dip into the pool of universal human experience through his use of language, and by the same means of language to feed experiences into that pool.

In the last few centuries mankind has been able to inhabit most of the earth with its tremendous range of soil and climate by learning to understand and use the earth in specialized, unique ways. In the wisdom of hindsight we see the tragedies that have befallen mankind whenever he perversely attempted to use the earth other than as a home for man, as for example, in the tremendous growth of cities as labor-pools without thoughtful planning for good living by and for people who live in them.

Improved availability of goods and services to the average man is not the principal value of productive specialization. Organized division makes it possible for many kinds of persons to be self-supporting and for each one to realize the significance of his own efforts. Today the essence of wise vocational guidance is that the young shall learn much of what the world needs to have done and learn how to do some of those things especially well. The great variety of needed work will accommodate infinite variety of talents, skills, preferences, aversions, peculiarities.

Modern life employs individuals with highly specialized talents. A man of delicate taste is invaluable to purchasers of coffees, teas, wines. Detectives with photographic memories are marked assets to the city's police. A tall pupil with long arms gladdens the heart of a short teacher. The skinny kid can crawl through the hole in the fence to retrieve the misplaced ball. Midgets are essential workers in riveting tapered tails of bombers. The skilled

¹ Julian Huxley, *Evolution in Action* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1953), pp. 131-32.

athlete, the dancer, the piano player, the poet can live well today by his narrow, but widely valued, talent.

Most of the world's work requires no unusual talent. Modern life requires each of us to develop special skills which may or may not be peculiar talents. Temperament is coming to be recognized as a unique factor crucial to each individual's happiness. Bill was a highly superior college student. He made the Dean's List in law school, but in five trials he failed to pass his examinations for entrance to the bar. At the downtown law firm where he clerked, thunder storms frightened him so severely that he fled to the nearest subway to remain until the storm had passed. Some friends helped him discern and face the fact that his temperament could not tolerate the prospect of becoming a courtroom lawyer like his distinguished father. Bill is now a valuable professor of constitutional law.



Probably people differ from each other in native temperament more than in abilities and special talents. Most unhappy is the person whose occupation or social life is incompatible with his temperament. The bus driver who dislikes to be around strange people, the primary teacher who is annoyed by the activity of children are as much to be pitied as the mail-carrier with painful feet. In school, children must find ample opportunity to learn completely what kind of people they are. Roland was thought to be rather dumb in high school. Always, on standardized tests, he was near the bottom of his class. The fact that he was among the smartest quarterbacks of his region was not significant to his teachers, and only one noted that while Roland answered few test questions, all of his answers were correct. Roland's temperament would not permit him to proceed to a new task until the one at hand was satisfactorily completed. He is now a highly valued lay-out man for a large publishing house. Jerrie and Josie alone were quite ineffective in third-year core. Jerrie had grand thoughts, original ideas for projects important to the group. She had little zeal for detailed work. Josie displayed much interest and talent for follow-through. She loved tending details and checking to make sure that plans were completed. Together they were a valuable and valued team. Certainly a most important

aspect of teaching today's fundamentals is the guidance of children to the valuing of each other in terms of their special interests, abilities, and concerns.

Among the more salutary effects of modern industrial organization of production is the new-found usefulness and employment opportunity for persons who would earlier have been called handicapped. Modern industry has special need for, and is learning to use well, sightless people, deaf people, people without legs, without arms. Indeed, many tasks can be performed with complete competency and reliability by people who would formerly have been sent to institutions for the feeble-minded.

*Jerrie*

We would like to comment at some length on the current concept of the meaning of being handicapped. Every one of us is handicapped to the extent that no one can attain all his purposes without the aid of other people and of gadgets. The majority of adults must wear lenses before their eyes to see ordinary printing. Most of us wear shoes to preserve our feet. No one can fly without a machine. This last principle is applied a little more intensively by the people who use motorized chairs to move about. The average city dweller cannot get to his work without mechanical aid in transportation; crutches are another type of mechanical aid for getting about. None of us would care to find his way in the darkness of night entirely on his own personal resources; some of us see so poorly even in daylight that we require special facilities and aid in finding our way. It isn't that some people are handicapped and others are not; some people are more handicapped than others, and each of us in a different way.

Our most commonly noted handicaps are deficiencies in the senses. Each of our senses is specialized feeling for peculiar stimuli. Individuals differ markedly in degree of sensitivity of the sensory organs. Through modern technology and science we have built mechanical aids to the senses. All of us are too much handicapped to see bacteria. With lenses we can see them. By some, the person who requires an aid for hearing common sounds is considered to be handicapped. None of us feels handicapped because he uses a radio receiver or a telephone to hear what someone is saying at a distance.

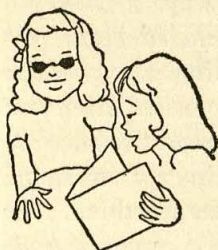
Often we indulge in misplaced pity for the "handicapped"

person. Certainly he feels normal to himself until he feels discrimination, loss of opportunity, the withholding of gratification because he differs more from the average than do most of us. Joe's bones were brittle. At age nine he had suffered more than a score of breaks of arms and legs. He had lived most of his life prone on a small platform with casters. The school in his neighborhood would not accept him; he would be too much bother. A teacher was sent to his home to "teach" him. Joe had no friends apart from a few neighbors who came in now and then to cheer the poor little shut-in.

Jack was among the gayest children in Roosevelt School. Every child in the school valued his cheerful friendliness. Jack had never walked. He was complete physically, but his bones were not stiff enough to enable him to stand. He lived on wheels. He could not play ball, but he could umpire quite adequately, and later he managed the teams.

An "abnormal" person is merely one who differs so much from us that he bothers us. Thus we can greatly reduce the number of abnormals among us by shifting our attitudes. This shift is unlikely to take place in schools that name and have special places for unique persons.

We are glad to know that many school systems are turning away from the earlier practice of isolating handicapped children with children of like handicap for special education. Every human is a product of his culture, of the life he leads. The principal role of the school is to supply every child with the best culture a community can provide for all its children. Do we want sightless



children to grow in a sightless culture, or among people who see and speak of what they see? Do we want deaf children to grow up among people who do not hear or speak of what they hear? Do we want our spastic and immobilized children to grow in a crippled culture? The child who cannot see needs very much to be with people who do see. The person who cannot walk needs associates who walk well. Certainly in this world a person who cannot read needs to be with people who read ably.

The normal children also need to grow up with their quota of more handicapped people. Most of us grown-ups today have a

tendency to avert our eyes, to cross streets to avoid meeting people who are unusually abnormal in appearance and behavior. We would be uncomfortable suddenly to become as they are, and we attribute to them our feelings. Katharine Hathaway's delightful book, *The Little Locksmith*,² describes the yearning and pressing isolation of a deformed child. We must recognize the fact that we ignore as inconsequential the physical stigmata, or outstanding glories of face and figure, of persons we know well.

We know a man who recently lost a job he had held and done well for a dozen years despite the fact that he was quite spastic and could not control well the larger muscles of his body. Often strangers thought him intoxicated as he walked down the street. A new boss let him go on the avowed verdict of incompetency, but those who knew this executive understood his great discomfort in the presence of this handicapped man.

We once knew a boy in his early teens so lacking in muscular control that he couldn't walk, nor talk comprehensibly, nor pick up the simplest object without several minutes of effort. At the suggestion of a sensitive teacher, his parents purchased an electric typewriter. The boy was helped to learn to hook his thumbs under the frame, thus holding his hands still enough that he could touch the keys with his fingers. He was able to compose beautiful prose. His first essay described the most beautiful sounds in his world—the turning of a door-knob, and the sizzling of a hamburger. Until that time he had been locked away from the world by adult presumption that his inability to communicate reflected an inability to experience and comprehend. We trust that his world found use for him and gave him friends.

In writing of her belated recognition and appreciation of Carl in *The Journey*,³ Lillian Smith reveals beautifully the complete rejection by a community of a brain-damaged child who could not make words. To avoid this senseless isolation and rejection of the oddly formed and functioning personalities, we must allow children the normal incidence of acquaintance with different ones and help them learn to accept and value each other for what they

² Katharine B. Hathaway, *The Little Locksmith* (New York: Coward McCann, Inc., 1943).

³ Lillian Smith, *The Journey* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1954).

are and can become as well as to offer needed help from their greater store of capacities. Classrooms of "normal" children have accommodated imbeciles to the profit of all persons concerned. Perhaps we should make a special appeal for acceptance of epileptic children who usually display no more disability than occasional seizures of short duration during which they are no more unpleasant than the person who suddenly up-chucks his lunch or is seized with a severe cramp.

Until spoiled by the inverted values of their elders, children are quite disposed to accept each other as they are and to value each other in terms of what each can, rather than cannot, do. We recall with great satisfaction hearing a teacher ask her seven- and eight-year-olds, "Who would you say is the smartest person in the room?" Ordinarily this is not an appropriate question, but these children had not been spoiled. They gave as in chorus the one right answer, "Smartest at what?" Then their comments went about the room mentioning Harry who could lift well (they had been making a stage of heavy boards), Alice who spelled correctly



Alice

an especially large range of words and was thus required by them to read proof on their newspaper, Billy whose imagination was active and keen and was expected to lead in outlining scenery for the play. Every child was mentioned in terms of what

he could do especially well that was valuable to the group. Incidentally, the last child mentioned was Freddie who read so well. He could read *Fortune*, but the group then didn't need it to be read.

Many of the ills and malpractices of school teaching result from the uncritical acceptance of the validity and consequent practice of standardization. There is *a* book that all children must read. There is *a* time when every child must learn algebra. Every home must receive the same kind of communication from the school in the form of a report card. We cannot expect standardized means to produce standardized persons in a world that permits choices from an infinite variety of its activities and products. Democracy thrives on differences.

Groups must be so managed that differences are valuable, cherished, and employed to benefit other members of the group. Special talents, special abilities must be viewed as special capacities

for giving. Let us think of a child as *gifted* only as he is peculiarly able to give, to do what his associates want and need to have done. The talents and abilities of a child must be *assets* to his group, from the group's point of view, never claims to *distinction from* his group nor to special privilege in his group. The basic dignity of every human requires acceptance, value, appreciation, self-sufficiency, regardless of the kind and degree of our differences from other people. Most of us have rejected the validity of an aristocracy of inherited position or wealth as a claim to rights to greater happiness and satisfying living. By the same logic of brotherhood, we must reject the validity of the aristocracy of the high I.Q. and all organic differences as carrying claims to greater zest, or comfort, or gratification.

Let us consider briefly some of the inborn physical uniquenesses in people that function in their behavior. Sex differences are clear. In every culture little children learn early that it makes a difference whether they are boys or girls. Save for procreation, however, what is done about the differences is culturally derived rather than specifically predetermined. We, in our culture, haven't taken into sufficient account the innateness of the tendency of each male or female to be somewhat masculine and somewhat feminine with varying degrees of dominance. The tomboy and the sissy have not merely formed habits; these tendencies are in their bodies.

Size can be crucial to a child. In some groups the little boy is markedly disadvantaged. The overly tall girl often develops the posture of the reversed question mark. In the middle school grades it is not uncommon that the largest child is twice as big as the smallest.

The rate and tempo of growth can be significant factors in adjustment. Some children become physical adults several years earlier than others. The knowledge of a child's size, apart from knowledge of his hereditary growth pattern, justifies no prediction of his ultimate size. Our age-grade grouping with its assumption of normalcy for children has probably given rate of growth too much significance for many children.

Parents and teachers tend to expect more of the large child. We have in mind a boy of fourteen who was full-sized, handsome, completely adult in manner and interests. His parents were dis-

mated to learn that he was dating girls in their late teens and forbade him to date; he was too young. He had to leave his own neighborhood to find girls who didn't know how young he was. Since his fourteen-year-old allowance of a dollar a week was too small to entertain the older girls, he had to devise secret ways of getting some extra cash. He was too young to have a job. When at age sixteen he eloped with a twenty-three-year-old and got a job in another city, his parents sent the police after him and annulled the marriage. In every respect but chronology this boy was an adult. By judging him in terms of age alone, his elders turned a gifted young man into a fugitive who likely is now playing tag with the police.

People differ greatly in niceness of motor control. We prevaricate much to the "Huckleberry Finns" telling them that they could be as neat and write as nicely as little Alice, if they would only try! Some shop teachers, having themselves been gifted in this respect, insist upon precision of performance impossible to the more awkward muscles of many youngsters. The nicety of movement and the agility required for skillful piano playing are uncommon qualities, the lack of which plagues children throughout this land of parents who are sure that the child's expensive lessons and persevering practice will bring to life the pretty piano in the parlor.

Sense organs differ greatly in sensitivity. Some eyes see colors unrevealed to other eyes. Some ears can isolate the tones in chords; some can discern shades of pitch undetected by others. Not everyone can be a fine artist by wishing and trying.

The amount of pigmentation in the skin is a dismaying difference to many people, particularly in America. We recall the little boy who stated the four colors of people as red, black, yellow, and skin-color. People with slight pigmentation sunburn more readily than those with more. Those with loose pigmentation freckle in the sun. In some regions those whose pigmentation identifies them as belonging in the "working class" suffer much rejection, while others with less pigmentation cannot be identified in terms of former status, and thus escape the necessity to stay in their places.

Strength, agility, reaction-time, precision of movement, sense of balance, extent of peripheral vision, stamina, rate of recupera-

tion from fatigue are inborn qualities that count for much in varied aspects of living. They can be seen most readily in athletics. The average man couldn't get a bat off his shoulder in the time it takes a Bob Feller to deliver the ball to the plate. Yet current propaganda from a cereal concern tells all our boys that champions are made, not born. This is not to say that a person's use of his body cannot be vastly improved by study, teaching, and practice; it is to say that every aspect of the human organism has inborn limits of capacity. In our culture we can and must make it possible for every individual to accept the limits of his unique capacities in complete self-respect and genuine social value.

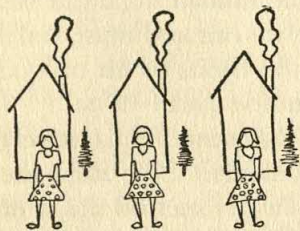
Were we to treat this topic of individual differences exhaustively we should mention many other real differences. We urge the reader to contemplate the importance of factors such as shape of the body, particularly of the face; tensile strength of muscles, tendons, bones; rate of coagulation of the blood; toughness of body membranes; pulse rate; size of feet; sharpness and persistence of visual imagery (most important in spelling). Since we readily recognize the fact that every individual is unique in these and many other physical qualities, we can see clearly that we must go to the limits of statistical infinity to find two people alike.

Educators have gone far beyond propriety and their facts in describing differences in terms of age-levels (performances and qualities of average children of given age). We have found age-levels to be convenient pegs on which to hang out for ripening our growing appreciation of maturation in the development of behavior. Little of human behavior can appropriately be assigned to age-levels. We would not, of course, expect to find many high school students thrilling with the story of *The Three Bears*, and we should deem it unusual to find nine-year-olds sparking in a convertible, but we do not invert this logic and proclaim that ten-year-old John should hate girls because the average of his age does so, or that he should read a certain book for such reason. Any teacher can find in her room children of identical age and "mental level" who differ vastly in their real capacities and abilities and interests.

Long have philosophers warned us against indulgence in the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Social groups would avoid much confusion, envy, and low-level performance by knowing and

valuing individual members in terms of genuine ability and capacities rather than in those of vague generalities that our quest for standardization has produced.

We have heard it said that Ralph Waldo Emerson once visited a school room for a time and upon leaving commented to the teacher, "Madam! You are trying to make all these children just like you. One of you is enough."



*"In my image I shall
make thee!"*

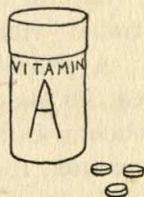
Our recognition of the provision of a wise Creator that every human should be different from every other human will surely lead teachers, parents, and other educators to desist from teaching toward similarity and conformity and turn to the preoccupation of the talent scout helping children learn to know themselves and like it, and helping each one to find his valued roles to play

among the people of his world. Then difference, uniquenesses, will be cherished rather than lamented.

10

The vitamins of personality

ULTIMATELY the purpose of group living is to enhance the quality of living for the individual. What makes life good for people? By what criteria do we say, "He lives so well," and again, "His life has been so miserable"? Fundamentally, people have the same needs today as had their ancestors, but modern conditions of living and working have altered remarkably our means for realizing them. The tempo of living and the vast variety of possibilities for expending time, attention, and effort confuse our values and dull our sensitivity to values. In this mid-twentieth century we need deliberately to ponder the values of life and to foster circumstances and relationships that assure their realization for ourselves and for those whose lives we touch.



The most recent study of man is man. We might say that man became human when he became *self-conscious*. Being conscious of self, he is nagged by the necessity to explain himself as a part of all life and of the infinite universe. The earliest of his written records reveal this concern. Myths, rituals, religious ceremonies are rich resources for tracing man's growing understanding of himself. The modern study of man has given us ethics, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and other disciplines concerned with explaining to man fragments of man's life. Present-day psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis are putting man back together as a wishing, aspiring, valuing being, functioning by using his one great gift, intelligence.

Not yet do we know enough to set forth fixed and exclusive descriptions of the elements of the good life. However, study of

religion, anthropology, human relations, psychiatry, and the wisdom of our grandmothers reveals marked agreement on some essential features of good living. The following pages offer our summary of the insights of wise men and women who have thoughtfully studied to discern the basic needs of people. Mumford's *Faith for Living*¹ is a revealing study of those who are seeking to clarify their own understandings. None of us finds all needs completely satisfied in his own life. Yet if a family, neighborhood, classroom, community, or nation wishes to evaluate the quality of living of its people, it will try to ascertain the extent to which these needs are supplied. It must accept responsibility for supplying them. Any group of persons is good and strong to the extent that the needs of all its individuals are satisfied. Because they are never finally secured, we continually need these "vitamins for personality health" just as our bodies require continual "vitamins for body health."

A child who has had improper diet during the early years carries the marks through his life in physiological deficiencies such as in bone structure or in muscular strength. In the same manner, the personality that is starved or mistreated during the early years will bear throughout life the marks of early deprivation. The early years are so significant because it is at this time that the basic structure is being formed and its capacity for growing and functioning is being fashioned.

Need for Self-Respect

All of us need to think well of ourselves always. We go to all lengths to rationalize our behavior, regardless of its irrationality, so that we may tell ourselves that we are all right. To be thoroughly shamed is to be stripped of our ability to face the world, to relate to other human beings. The tragedy of Nick in *Knock on Any Door* is that, as he heard his counsel tell the jury how society had made him a killer, he was deeply ashamed of himself. And he sat with his head bowed, too ashamed to look up, shoulders slumped, staring at his hands, no swagger, no hard-boiled grin. All of Nick was defeated from that moment on.

No constructive living can come from a person who lacks self-

¹ Lewis Mumford, *Faith for Living* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1940).

respect. Self-respect is the cement of mental health. The admonition, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," is sound psychological advice. But how difficult it is to love the self that is so often reminded of shortcomings, of selfish motivations, of smallness of spirit. We are reminded of the cry that came from the ten-year-old who was being told to be a good girl and to be happy but not to pinch brother or use bad language or get dirty, "My ears don't seem to be a part of me!" He who undermines another's self-respect does violence.

A major task of the teacher is to help each child build and maintain self-respect. Many children are continually shamed at home, are drilled in self-depreciation from morning to night. In one day's listening we heard these remarks addressed to children in one family:

"Aren't you ashamed of yourself?"

"Look at that face!"

"How many times do I have to tell you to comb your hair before coming to the table?"

"Shut up! Who cares what you think?"

"Daddy will be so ashamed of you!"

"You know your mother doesn't like you when you suck your thumb."

"I'm not interested in your side of the story. Just go to your room, you naughty boy!"

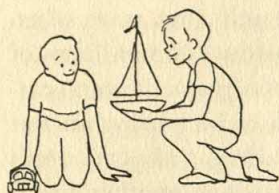
More than likely the child who needs to have help in developing his self-respect is one who hasn't had much chance to develop his uniqueness or whose uniqueness hasn't been appreciated. Self-respect does not feed well upon the shortcomings of others. Our job is to help each one feel valued because he is himself, and therefore is of special worth to the group.

Perhaps Johnny has a generous way of standing up for the underdog. Build on that. Mike may be quick to share his valued possessions. Build on that. Dick may have a slow smile of humor that pervades a situation. Build on that. June may see quickly things that need doing and go about doing them quietly. Ruth may have the perseverance of a bulldog once her interest is in gear. In almost any group of thirty children, we will find at least three or four who are seriously deficient in self-respect. Johnny, Mike, Dick, June, and Ruth—all children who,



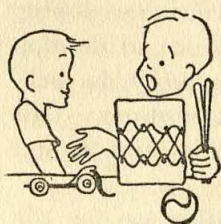
"Aren't you ashamed?"

because of circumstances and circumstances alone, have little respect for themselves, each a human being capable of leading a useful, happy life, if only we can help him build enough self-respect, quickly enough.



If we are to succeed with this difficult task, we must arrange our schooling so that a teacher may know a child well and so that each child may be known as a person by at least *one* teacher. If we know the child as a person, we have increased significantly our opportunities to see possibilities in each child.

Our appreciation of the child's need for self-respect must, above all things, keep us from shaming the child by word or deed, explicitly or implicitly. In our essential role as friend, our task is to support. Of course, this does not mean that we shall condone inappropriate behavior or misconduct; on the other hand, however, we throw away our chance to redirect such behavior when we shame. We help the child understand that, while his conduct is not acceptable to him or to others, he is still one of us—accepted and loved. We assume part of the responsibility for his conduct, as indeed we should for we (society—that is parents-teachers) certainly taught it to him. He was not born stealing, lying, fighting. All forms of human degradation result from inappropriate circumstances for development. When children are given responsibility for those things that matter to them, they usually respond with acceptable, respected behavior.



"These are ours."

One group in an area high in delinquency managed a cooperative toy enterprise for the neighborhood. No toy was stolen in two years and only five cards were sent out for overdue toys. One youngster expressed his feelings thus, "There ain't no use in stealing your own stuff, is there? This is our place." We say to the child who has transgressed the established order, as did the father in Carl Ewald's "My Little Boy" when a cent had been misappropriated, "What are *we* going to do?" ²

² Carl Ewald, "My Little Boy" in *The Scribner Treasury* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

As teachers we go one step further. We are concerned with forces in the community and in the home that tend to rob the child of self-respect. We help parents understand what they do when they shame a child. We help to rid the community of those aspects of living that destroy the child's favorable regard for himself. We work with organizations and individuals to bring about a consciousness of the kind of community children need so that they may grow up with healthy respect for themselves. We have seen the fire and scorn of teenagers when they felt their parents didn't trust them. We try to produce the kind of living that minimizes distrust and fear as controls over children. We are concerned with neighborhood projects that give children a chance to be children, to live creative, *active* lives in close relationships with mature, wise adults, to assume responsibility for their own "stuff," their own activities, and their own decisions.

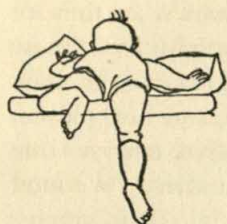
Need for Freedom

We need to be free. From the first cry of birth, life seems to be a process of securing and extending freedom for ourselves. This seems to be characteristic of all animal life. Even the much-coddled pets of Fifth Avenue, who are trained to take their walks on leashes, pull to have the strap unbuckled for a cavort around Washington Square. The tiny baby begins to exercise his freedom by resisting outside pressures. His blankets are kicked off. He expresses his pleasure by kicking lustily when his diapers are removed. As soon as he is able to get around on his own two legs, he has a great time telling his mother that he is enjoying his new-found extension of freedom. He explores his environment to the limit—reaching, climbing, running, grabbing, tasting. Watch a baby's face at this stage of his growth if you doubt his enjoyment of freedom.

About this time we find it necessary seriously to curtail the child's freedom. He learns that "no, no," is a very popular expression of adults. Dr. Aldrich calls this the No! No! stage of development.³ While it is necessary that the child be restrained from touching certain breakables, or climbing into open windows, or putting some objects in his mouth, it is also necessary that the

³ C. A. Aldrich and Mary M. Aldrich, *Babies Are Human Beings* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938).

child have enough freedom to exercise those capacities which are laid down in his growth pattern for development. Wise balancing of freedom and restraint during the first few years goes a long way toward building a healthy personality.



As adults, we do well to ask ourselves these questions as we try to strike this balance. Are there some areas in which the child's freedom is unrestrained? Can he, for instance,

run and jump and yell as loud as he likes during recess after being somewhat restrained by the four walls of a classroom for two or three hours? Does he have a chance to rest from school, as one child said as he raced madly about calling, "I am resting from school"? Does he have a place at home where his play need not consider the cherished breakables of the adults? Are we continuously helping him to understand, from his own childish way of looking at things, the necessity for those restraints that are placed on his freedom?

Recently, during a long auto ride, a five-year-old was reminded by his teacher-mother to say "thank you" each time a guest gave him a jelly bean. This restraint had no meaning to the five-year-old. He expressed his thanks by his friendly smile and the smacking of his lips. The guest didn't need the verbal thank-you to feel secure in the child's approval. Continued reminders to say "thank you" brought active dislike in the child for the guest. Imposing an adult standard of courtesy upon the child was not helping him feel more appreciative of adults. If anything, it annoyed him enough to cause him to feel rebellious against authority. Many of the restraints placed upon a child's freedom in the name of good manners defeat the purposes for which we impose such restraints. Good manners are real only if felt. Appreciation is expressed more authentically by children than by most adults, for children have not yet learned to let the word substitute for the feeling.



As much as possible, restraints must make sense as seen through the child's eyes. A positive example of helping a child sense the

need for restraint is that of a family which was going to take a cross-country auto trip with a four-year-old. The family recognized that the continual sitting in small space would be difficult for the child. A few days before starting on the trip, they set up equivalent space in their living room and play-acted the trip; what could be done with pleasure, games that could be played, what couldn't be done. The child and his parents enjoyed the trip and the child understood the situation in which he found himself.

Do we give the child psychological freedom? That is, do we respect his purposes and his feelings? Or do we expect him to adapt himself to ours? As teachers we need to examine this question quite intensively. Because children haven't learned all the complicated defense mechanisms that motivate adults, they are sensitive to coercion in any form. The coercion of a charming teacher is readily recognized by a child. We know the teacher who has complete control of the children, for whom the children will do whatever *she* wants, who never raises her voice but who directs, restrains, and ignores the inner feelings of the children. Such a teacher can have a deleterious effect upon impressionable youngsters. She teaches some that the way to get along is to conform to what the adults want and to do it sweetly. Others learn an outward conformity but secretly pursue their own purposes. Still others feel a slow burn of frustration without being able to understand why they feel this way. They conform, but they feel a loss of self-respect in conforming. For a more complete analysis of the ways in which teachers can recognize and work with the needs of children, read Rath's materials on the needs theory.⁴

We hope a child might have enough psychological freedom in the classroom so that he could make mistakes without its bothering him, could save face without feeling isolated, could express unpopular ideas and still not be unpopular, and could recognize a mistake made by the teacher and feel secure with that teacher. A child cannot learn what it means to be free unless he has this

⁴ Louis Rath's, *An Application to Education of the Needs Theory* and Louis Rath's and Anna Burrell, *Do's and Don't's of the Needs Theory* (Bronxville, New York: Modern Education Series, 1949).

quality of freedom in some measure in his home and in his school. To be able to admit error is a quality of democratic maturity intolerable to totalitarian states.

Need for Love, Affection

We all need love, affection in our lives always. We are alive today only because someone cared enough for us to keep us alive when we were babies. We are aware today that babies who receive little loving (cuddling, fondling, holding) while they receive their food and have their diapers changed and their bodies bathed, tend to become cringing, fearful, even withered human beings—less adequate, less secure, less strong, less healthy because they have lacked love. Frank has written eloquently on this subject.⁵

Some of us recall the era in child-care that discouraged mothers from holding or fondling the baby. We have seen the neurotic, inhibited personalities of some of these children and wondered that we could have been so stupid as to believe that a living, human being could grow healthily without expressed love.

Every child needs adults in his life who love him and for whom he has genuine, spontaneous affection. For some children the teacher is the only adult who can assume that role. Fortunately, love need not be rationed, nor do its portions diminish in size with the number who share it. The wise teacher seeks to give warmth and affection to all the children in her group, but she gives an added measure of time to the one or two or three who need it most—who she knows are not going home to a mother or father or aunt or to any other adult who is waiting expectantly for them. For these she has a specially personal and warm good-by at the end of the day. She may find a small job to do with them so that she has a chance to visit with them. She will try to help them find friends in the group, for often those most in need of love have lacked it and have become unlovely. Other youngsters tend to reject them and to isolate them from the group. The teacher has to be sure she is supporting, encouraging, but not setting these children apart. They have to feel that they make their own way, but the teacher helps to remove some of the road

⁵ Lawrence Frank, *The Fundamental Needs of the Child* (New York: New York Committee on Mental Hygiene, 1937).

blocks that are insurmountable by the child alone. She is a scene-shifter and stage-manager.

The fruits of rejection are indeed bitter. The person who is well liked, who has loving and loved ones to go home to after the day's work has little notion of what it is like to sit all day in a classroom knowing that no one really cares whether he is there or not, perhaps wishing he weren't there, and knowing that, when school is over, there is no place to go where someone waits who does care.

Yet in nearly every classroom we have one or two children who are completely isolated from the rest of the group. Donald in *The Quiet One*⁶ was such a child. We find the results of such rejection—after it has had a chance to pile up in the individual for eleven or twelve years—manifested in acts of resentment against society, such as breaking street lights, stealing, roaming the streets, and identifying with those people in our society who have never belonged, such as the fences, the petty thieves, the panhandlers, the jackrollers, the habitués of the street.

Children who are different in any way, who dress or speak strangely, who are oversize or undersize, whose skin may be a different color, or who observe strange religious customs often become targets for the unpracticed ruthlessness of childhood. The responsibility of the teacher is clear in such cases. The value of differences is a theme to be taught throughout school. The dignity of human beings is restricted to no group. This is a key to be used to unlock the doors of prejudice, thoughtlessness, and scapegoating.

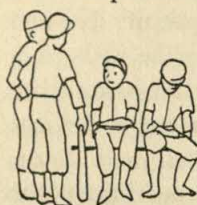
Need to Belong

We need to belong to something—a gang, a group, a club, a family, a church, a team, a political party, or some other unit. Little children seek this belongingness by participating in whatever mother and father are doing. If mother is baking a cake, four-year-old Jane will be making one, too. If father is building a cabinet, little Sam will be hammering boards together. He, too, is making a cabinet. Children in their play reveal their reaching out for belonging to the adult world. They play house, going

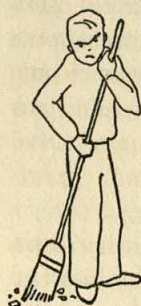
⁶ *The Quiet One*, sound film (New York: New York University Film Library).

to the doctor's office, buying groceries, having babies, caring for the children, playing bridge, and so on.

As the child grows, his group identification becomes more and more important until, by the time he is an adolescent, his own age group is more powerful in setting standards, codes of behavior, and modes of dress than are the adults in his life. This is a step in growth that should be welcomed. Instead it is frequently resisted by adults—teachers and parents alike. A sorry world this would be if our young did not learn to make and stand by their own decisions. Psychiatrists' offices are cluttered today with middle-aged men and women who still are tied to mom's apron strings. Let's remember this as we lament the apparent stubborn defiance in adolescent conduct. Redl has much of value to say on this subject.⁷



We need to be needed. To belong, we have to be able to carry our own weight. We have to contribute something. We have to be needed because of what we have to give. One of the problems of present-day living is to find important ways in which children can belong to the family in a dynamic, real sense. The modern home does not need much contribution from children. Nothing is more demoralizing than to spend one's time doing "phoney" work or work that doesn't need to be done.



The ten-year-old who was given the task of sweeping out the garage each morning generated an ample store of resentment with each sweep of the broom, for he knew there was no sense to his work, no need for it. It contributed nothing to the happiness or the effectiveness of the home. It did make the boy resentful, skeptical of the judgment of adults and of the authority they wield.

"Phooey!"

What Difference Should Needs Make in School?

Some of school work must be placed in the same category as garage-sweeping. It makes little sense to the child. It has no value for him nor for his group. The world would be as well off

⁷ Fritz Redl, *Understanding Children's Behavior* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

if it were not done. The school must be a place in this century where children's abilities and talents are employed for the benefit of each other, where problems of living together are worked out so that living is better for the group. This is a dynamic first step in growth necessary to reach adulthood with the capacities we need today.

If we were to apply this principle, school practices would be revolutionized. For example, do we develop a feeling of belonging to the group if we place the three best drawings on the bulletin board for display on parent-teacher association meeting night? Was there any useful purpose in making the drawings? Did they come to be because the child wanted to say something through color and design, or were they an assignment growing out of an art period? What happens to those whose paintings weren't displayed? Consider the aberration of purpose in the child whose work is displayed. Do they feel important as members of the group, or a bit rejected, or perhaps do they say, "Aw, heck, it's only school! Wait 'till after school!"?

Life is good when one has group identification, when one belongs to a group, and is valued and appreciated by the group. This suggests that the group has vital purposes which it wishes to attain. Our task as teachers is to discover these purposes and help the children organize a curriculum around them. What we have commonly done in most classrooms was precisely the opposite. We have set a prescribed curriculum and bent the children's purposes to fit this curriculum. In so doing, we have lost our chance to build belongingness within the school. This necessarily means that many children never have experienced positive, productive group identification, for school has been their only group experience of a constructive kind.

How can we utilize children's purposes to develop a curriculum and develop group belonging and appreciation? The healthy organism has a desire to know, is seeking answers, is curious. There is a quest to know about ourselves, our relations with others, and the world about us. This is the place to start. If one is working with a group of high-school students, they'll probably be thinking about seeking information and understanding about the opposite sex, how to maintain and establish their own independence, how to influence other people, how to decide what kind

of jobs they want, and what the important issues of the day are. These are the areas of common learnings, the areas about which all are seeking help. To gain understanding about any of these areas, all available skills of study and communication are useful. We need discussion, illustration, research, interviewing, weighing of data, and presentation through briefs, summaries, and creative forms. We need consideration of differing points of view, alternative proposals for action. We need to project consequences of tentative decisions. We need to try out, assess, and try again. Everyone in the group, yes, even the "dumbest kid," has something to give to the group of value in its search for a comprehensive understanding of the problems being investigated.

The group will need to write letters. The people who can write letters especially well will contribute that. Charts and graphs will need to be drawn. Those who are handy with pen and ink or colors will take on this job. Perhaps on-the-spot investigations will need to be made. Those who have sharp eyes and ears, who can find a way to secure the chance to investigate will take this place in the total project, and so on and on around the group. If the problem is one that has come from the youngsters' own purposes, everyone's talents can be used to contribute to the group enterprise. We must be creative enough to help synchronize all the abilities of the group into an integrated whole.

How would such an approach change school practices? We have already seen how the content of the curriculum would be decided upon. Time blocks would be radically revised. This type of learning goes on falteringly in a school-day chopped into small bits. Many teachers today are discovering the freedom and flexibility that longer periods of time and meeting a smaller number of students each day is giving them. An integrated approach, growing out of the experiences, needs, and purposes of those who are doing the learning, covering at least two or three hours of time per day in pursuit of that which is important and significant to the learner is one way of revitalizing education. This approach is especially needed at the secondary level. We find many elementary teachers recognizing these basic needs and utilizing them in school living.

Some Apples for the Teacher

Quite often one expert or another displays his hostility toward some of his earlier teachers by estimating the incidence of mental illness among teachers. We have seen estimates that over 90 per cent of teachers do or should seek treatment for mental illness. Seriously, too many teachers exhibit greater degrees of neurotic tendency than is good for their pupils.



The profession of teaching suffers some peculiar strains. Until lately in America teachers were expected to be different from normal people. This notion likely arose from the fact that a few generations ago the preachers were also the teachers, and as such were to shun all pleasures of the flesh. In some parts of this country teachers quite commonly lost their jobs for dancing, smoking, playing cards, using lipstick, dating the local swains. In these earlier times the public felt quite responsible for monitoring the personal conduct of the teachers of its children.

Unfortunately, teachers fell into playing this role in some aspects of the lives of citizens. They disapproved language, manner, eating, and grooming brought from homes to schools and thus set themselves apart to stand in isolation, practicing what they preached. It is good to observe in our time the freedom of the teacher to behave according to the codes of good neighbors. However, this earlier and seemingly necessary concern to be favorably regarded by each of a variety of citizenry ranging from Mrs. Grundy to the local Diamond Jim required an intolerable stretch of adjustments. In trying to be all things to all people, the teacher suffered severe stress upon the integrity of his personality. The teacher must have particularly abundant self-respect, which cannot be attained while looking over one's own shoulder and listening to every whisper lest one offend, or gain the disapproval of, any citizen. We doubt that any person can teach anything positively good outside the realm of his own beliefs and values.

One of the authors of this book recalls with much gratification a scene in a Kansas village where he was once superintendent of the schools. The envious ladies of the Thursday Afternoon Literary Club sent a delegation to school board meeting to protest

the brevity of the skirts of the younger teachers. In 1928 relatively little goods were required to make a stylish skirt. In board meeting it was duly moved and approved that the secretary of the board complain to the appropriate authorities in Paris.

Teachers commonly testify that they have too many bosses, too many people who can enter their rooms and "issue an order," expecting it to be followed. We share this view. The teacher's mental health requires that he function as a professionally competent individual who must certainly know what is good for his children better than any absentee could possibly know. The mentally healthy teacher knows that he works as part of an institution which must have some common procedures and regulations to which he and his pupils conform. Security and confidence in his work and worth come best to the teacher who works for his children, who regards his pupils to be his bosses.

A common threat to teacher security in self-respect is his own pictures-in-the-head of a teacher. All professional people have a tendency to play roles, to act out mannerisms coming from pictures-in-the-head acquired in childhood. Note the Hollywood stereotypes of doctors, undertakers, bankers, teachers. We recommend that every teacher now and then seek an opportunity to watch children play school to note the pictures in their heads of the teacher.



For mental health as well as for good teaching it is essential that every teacher maintain himself as a unique personality, a special gift to the children. One whose distrust of his own impulses and of his conceptions of good living leads him to copy the ways of others cannot teach. This does not mean that one is wisely impervious to the influence of many others, but until those ways and values become a part of the total self-respected personality, they cannot be positive influences toward the integrity of the teacher or his pupils.

We deem it essential that a teacher function in the role of a competent professional who knows that no one can think clearly by himself. It is necessary that the teacher play a significant role in groups of teachers engaging in group planning and group activity directed to the education of their children. To remain

professionally alive, the teacher must be a part of a group in which he feels free to speak, which meets regularly to discuss problems and developments and to whet his mind on others. It is necessary, too, that the teacher have ongoing participation in a group with common concerns and interests to fortify and extend his own. We recall two prematurely weary teachers who somehow gained the zeal to organize a community chorus. That chorus has hastened integration, and wiped years from their faces.

One of the most potent vitamins is to be needed and appreciated. This is at hand in limitless abundance for every teacher. He has several dozen pupils and their parents and their brothers and sisters to whom he can be genuinely valuable. We reiterate here the great mental health giver of contributing directly to the basic needs of other humans, and the mental health destroyer of using other people to meet our own needs. It is our conviction based upon extended observation that the teacher who cares and senses how children feel and helps them gratify their own basic needs remains always young at heart. The bitter, frustrated teacher is one who has sought to make children like himself, to control and use them.

Teachers are commonly plagued with the necessity always to be right, to have the right answers, to be sure of doing the right things. For several years the Yankees paid Joe DiMaggio nearly \$100,000 per year for being right a bit more than one-third of the time. This isn't good enough for teachers, but we teachers should crawl out of the morass of compulsive absolutes. There are many ways to live well. Life has few absolutely right solutions to problems. It is a basic Americanism that the test of "rightness," appropriateness, of a way of doing is, "How does it work?" The role of undeniable correctness is surely the silliest ever assumed by a teacher.

Teachers must live in an atmosphere of freedom, be captains of their own souls. The freedom of teachers suffers much restriction by pictures-in-their-heads rather than by genuine proscription.

Teachers, too, need fun, aspects of life lived just because they give zest and gratification. The soul-preserving capacity for hearty enjoyment must be valued and nurtured for its own sake.

11

The meaning of social health

ALL that we call the world consists of human relations—our thrills, joys, satisfactions, aspiration, concern for other people. Our miseries, anxieties, danger, cruelties, our failures are in relationships with other people. We who would improve the world, making it happier and more secure in happiness, can work in no other way than toward improving the well-being of people and their relationships with each other. Thus the only way to judge the worth of our work is to discern the quality of the inner feelings of the persons with whom we work and live and whose lives are touched by our play, our labor, our demands. Our skill as well as our goals are revealed in our relationships with our children, parents, neighbors, pupils, colleagues, employers, supervisors—with all people everywhere.

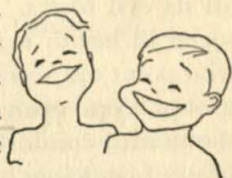
None of us has any right to expect a better world for ourselves than we are actively striving to create. One of the basic assumptions of this book is that the ultimate purpose of group living is to enhance the quality of living of individuals. Suppose we were asked to judge the quality of living of the people in a family, a classroom, a school, a neighborhood, a city, or a nation. What would we seek in diagnosing the social health of a group? We shall present in this chapter some signs that correspond to blood pressure, body tone, freedom of movement, freedom from pain, and other indications of the health of the body.

Happy, Busy People—Signs of Healthy Group

In a healthy group people are happy. They look happy. They smile a good deal, laugh now and then, not the loud, derisive

laugh that bespeaks the troubled and unhappy mind, but the laugh of genuine pleasure and real joy.

A good people are a busy people. One senses among them an active living of life rather than the dull routines through which one must go because someone says we must. When we were little children in school, teachers liked to hear pins drop and clocks tick. Today they welcome the hum of industry as a sign that this is a healthy group. They have challenging things to do.



Healthy People Manage Their Lives

People who live well manage their lives rather than letting life manage them. Among them one senses a feeling of brightness, a sense of adequacy to meet the responsibility and the toil of life in order to make life good. Among the saddest signs to observe in a group is futility, the pervasive feeling that things are bad but we can't do anything about it.

Concern for Others a Mark of Group Health

In healthy homes and nations we find much active concern for the well-being of other people. This need or concern to be valuable to other people is at once a basic need of individual man and of mankind. We recommend Kilpatrick's thinking in this area as expressing an ethical concept of how the concern for others should operate in our modern world.¹ A genuine concern for the well-being of other people is expressed in an active respect for unique and different ways of being and living. We not only respect differences in other people, we cherish them. Concern for others includes a willingness to defer one's own immediate interests and advantage to the preferences and advantage of other people. This is a central concept of all great religions.

Healthy Groups Recognize Disorder without Dismay

As the healthy, mature individual is knowing and alert to signs of physical disorder without dreadful anticipation of them, so the healthy group is alert to signs of social illness, the threats

¹ William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951).

to its unity, its pleasures, the sources of its livelihood. Democracy seems to have been a bit slow in learning how to recognize its enemies. The mature and healthy group is quickly sensitive to dangers of exploitation, undue exercise of privilege, selfishness in all its evil forms. As will be noted later, an important sign of social ill health is the heaping of scorn and violence upon those who point out social injustices and wrongs. The mature, healthy group keeps open the channels for criticism and provides for thoughtful consideration of them. It raises all problems to the level of conscious awareness, provides a broad base for consideration of them, and plans appropriate adjustment to them.

Disorder Measure of Appropriateness of Conditions

The amount of disorder in a group is a measure of the extent of the appropriateness of conditions for the people in that group. An important sign of social disintegration and consequent neglect of children is the rate of delinquency and vandalism in neighborhoods.² Disorder is the fever chart of social illness. It took physicians some years to learn that merely reducing his fever did the fevered patient no good; sources of infection had to be found and corrected. Schools are still in the process of learning that the mere punishment or removal of bad boys does not improve the behavior of a disorderly school. We make little progress with the improvement of discipline until we see disorder as a sign that all is not well with conditions for the children.

Force Measure of Appropriateness of Conditions

A corollary to this idea is the fact that the amount of force required to keep order in a group is a measure of the inappropriateness of what we are trying to do with that group. Currently we see about us in cities oversized and overcrowded school buildings that require hall guards and traffic cops at every corner to keep order. The real difficulty is not with the disorderliness of the children but with the too large or too heavily populated school. It is our impression that the children of America are rather rapidly taking their school buses apart in a subconscious

² Clifford Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

protest against the inappropriateness of being hauled long hours out of their neighborhoods for their schooling. This problem will not be solved by teaching bus drivers how to discipline more effectively.

Extraneous Motivation a Subtle Force Measuring Appropriateness

Among the new kinds of force in our culture is that of extraneous motivation. The amount of trickery, rewards, punishments, prizes, certificates of merit that must be offered in an attempt to keep order and make a go of our enterprises is a measure of the unfitness of the enterprises we seek to promote. Long have we known that honor rolls, distinctive awards undermine character.

Contentiousness a Sign of Social Illness

One of the subtle indications of social illness is the amount of contentiousness among the persons involved. It is hard to get a fight out of a well-fed wolf. But persons deprived of fundamental gratifications often contend against each other for the creature satisfaction the contest brings. One can note great differences in schools as well as in wider social groups or in families in the extent to which individuals tend to strive against each other. In the long run this contentiousness is directed into "picking on" and subjecting to indignity less fortunate, less capable persons. This phenomenon we call *scapegoating*. Bettelheim has spelled out this concept.³ It appears that human beings have a greater tendency to pass it on than to strike back at adversity. This sophomore complex is one of the great blocks to social progress. Almost invariably the adult who beats children was a child who was beaten by adults. Mr. Milquetoast often goes home from his minor role in business to be the big bad wolf in his own family.



Probably all of us have observed schools in which children seem genuinely friendly with each other—in which there is little teas-

³ Bruno Bettelheim, *The Dynamics of Prejudice* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

ing, little picking on smaller or handicapped children. In quite similar neighborhoods we have seen schools in which the little children have to be let out early in order to get home safely before the bigger children are let loose and in which there is much shoving and pulling and bloody noses and wounded egos. Usually the principal difference between these schools is the human relations among the people in them. At the latter school we may be sure that the principal over-controls the teachers, the teachers over-control the children, and the children try to over-control each other.

One of the quickest and simplest ways to spoil a group is to promote contentiousness and to make comparisons among them. Business has found that it gets quick gains in sales by setting up contests for extra money or other advantages. The long-run effect on morale is devastating. The human spirit has scant toleration for rejection. Within groups morale and unity are quickly destroyed by motivation to be better than other people, to get ahead of other people, or to attain what few can attain. The threat or anticipation of rejection can be seen in schools that abound in special classes, detention rooms, systems for securing service awards for doing those things that are needed to be done if living is to be good.

Extreme contentiousness and scapegoating become vengefulness with concern for reprisal. We can expect to get this kind of behavior as long as we place children in highly inappropriate circumstances. Our cities have been built without consideration for the fact that children were to be included in their population. In sections of many American cities today, it is illegal to be a child. Ever since Noah's boys were small, children have run, jumped, leaped, splashed, thrown rocks at things. This is not allowed in most of our cities. In many schools, childishness is forbidden. Living in conditions completely inappropriate for them, children protest in many ways. Among these ways are aggressive behaviors described as delinquency and vandalism. On all sides we hear demands from good citizens for more punishment, more reprisals, heavier fines for parents, throwing parents in jail. These are strong evidences of serious social illness.

All Is Not Well That Seems Well

The foregoing symptoms are rather commonly deplored among us. There are, however, important symptoms that are rather universally admired.

Exclusion

One of these symptoms is the tendency toward exclusion, seen in its most dramatic and virulent form in the caste system in India. Deprived indeed are persons who gain gratification from excluding other people. It appears that fraternities, sororities, and other manifestations of exclusion flourish in high schools that are highly regimented and controlled from above. Secret societies, gangs with secret emblems thrive among people who find life unsatisfactory.

Exclusion seems to be a highly contagious illness—resulting from the sickness of some people, compelling them to control and regiment others. In fact it sometimes appears that all human illness can be attributed fundamentally to the determination of individuals or small groups to prevail and to control other people. Often this compulsion to control is admired as love, devotion. The mother love which excludes the daughter-in-law as a full-fledged member of the family is one form of exclusion we have all witnessed. The neighborhoods that exclude incoming families, the old teachers who exclude the new ones are examples of group exclusion.

Exhibitionism

A readily observable sign of poor social hygiene is the extent of exhibitionism and indulgence in collective egotism. These qualities in individuals are known to be important neurotic symptoms. Individuals beat their own chests because no one is patting them on the back. Groups tend to proclaim their superiority in exaggerated behaviors when their genuine satisfactions are insecure. We doubt very much the wisdom of emphasizing school-spirit, of indulging in songs and yells that proclaim our group to be better than all other groups, regardless of our own behavior or theirs.

The Roman poet and satirist, Juvenal, said, "Limit its [the Roman people's] anxious longings to two things only—bread and the games of circuses." Circuses have become a common means

of controlling the more normal responses to social deprivation. It appears that in some regions the school has become subsidiary to the circuses of the school. Athletic sports that were originally games to be played by children for fun have become spectacles quite unconcerned about the well-being of participants. There is some reason to suspect that, if a school has spectacular athletic teams, it doesn't need to be a good school in order to maintain popular support. We note a quip in a recent paper: "Businessmen are disturbed about what they regard as the schools' leniency with pupils who can't read, write or figure. But if the pupil is 6-foot-2, weighs 200 pounds and can run the 100 in 10 flat, heaven help the teacher who flunks him." Thoughtful persons view with considerable alarm the amount of time that our children and grown-ups spend watching other people do things.

Escapism

The extent of escapism is an important sign of social deprivation. Efforts to "get away from it all" take many forms. For a time the television has been a great boon to parents of young children in small apartments without play space. A Mickey Finn or a hard clout on the head would of course accomplish the same purpose. A comic book will keep an active child quiet for some time. Some adults who greatly deplore the child's comic book cannot go to sleep at night without the soporific of a "who done it." We can escape in overindulgence in alcohol, movie attendance, reading, observance in ceremonies, or interest in cats. Diversion is not an evil. But the degree to which people feel the need of diversion from the stream of life indicates rather clearly the unfitness of that stream for them.



Among the more fundamental kinds of escape is regression, especially regression to creature concerns. Over-concern with sex, food, drink, fighting, or sleeping are significant signals of alarm.

Psychosomatic illness

Of late we have learned that all forms of illness, from fallen arches to falling hair, can result from emotional deprivation or confusion. Certainly the extent of physical illness,

of physical discomfort, is a clear indication of the social health of a community. Teachers and other social engineers would do well to study the writings of Flanders Dunbar⁴ on the close relationship between the well-being of mind and body.

Believing unreasonable things

In times of social deprivation and anxiety we see marked increase in the ability to believe unreasonable things, an important neurotic symptom of the individual. During times of marked social stress and widespread personal anxiety we note a great increase in susceptibility to cultism, the following of "super-men" offering special panaceas for the relief of misery. People flock to scenes of reported miracles such as the appearance of angels to the village dreamer. Astrologers, mediums, fortune-tellers prosper among an anxious people. Splinter-religions, circus-tent revival meetings are able to sell hope and hate for cash to hopeless, frustrated folks. Political demagogues easily defeat stable, thoughtful men when "times are bad" and uncertainty prevails. University students display much cocksureness in their opinions on controversial issues when the world is most restless.

Prejudice a Critical Sign of Social Illness

Because we wish to treat it more fully, we have left for the last part of this discussion one of the most harmful symptoms of social illness. This is the disposition to be prejudiced against and thereby discriminate against other human beings. The extent and depth of prejudice and discrimination are marked signs of social neurosis. The American humorist Josh Billings once observed, "It was never my ignorance that done me up. It was what I knowed that wasn't so." Another humorist has characterized prejudice as a vagrant opinion without visible means of support.

Patterns of prejudice

Every one of us has had the experience of being judged and having qualities attributed to us by persons who did not know us. We are happy to report that the teaching profession seems to be coming out of that stage during which when, if one of us fell into

⁴ Flanders Dunbar, *Mind and Body: Psychosomatic Medicine* (New York: Random House, 1947).

conversation with a new friend on a bus or train or in the park, there was soon put to us the query, "What do you do?" When we replied, "I am a teacher," the invariable reply was, "Oh!" followed



by a long silence. We were prejudged as the prissy, moralistic intolerant of common misusages. Too often the friendship closed at that point. What teacher has not heard many times, "You couldn't understand my child. You've never been a mother"?

There are several other definite patterns of prejudice. One of them has been discussed in the chapter on change. It is the "rock of ages" complex, a prejudice against persons who behave differently from our habitual ways. This prejudice is expressed in, "We don't like these new things." We can remember when some splendid teachers lost their jobs because they bobbed their hair and used cosmetics.

A most important type of prejudice might be called generalization from specialization. Joe Louis, having attained great distinction in one field of human endeavor, is invited to make speeches on the superiority of one political candidate over another. We have a good many instances of persons trained for the ministry who are regarded to be infallible authorities on the care of children. Most of the world was amused in 1915 when Henry Ford, a genius in mechanics and the organization of mass production, sailed a ship to Europe to put a stop to the war. More than commonly the wife of a successful professional man is made president of the P. T. A. with scant regard for her own qualifications.

We have discussed elsewhere group egotism as an important neurotic symptom. This functions in the area of prejudice. "All of the members of our group are better than anyone in the other group." Most of us have heard the old gag of the student who transferred from one college to another thus raising the intellectual level of both institutions.

A distressing and restricting form of prejudice is that in which we believe ourselves the chosen ones of God. Parents say to their children, "Remember you're a Smith, not a common child." This prejudice plagues the academic field. "What right have you to teach these things? You're not a member of our department. You didn't major in this field."

The sophomore complex that we mentioned earlier is a severe

form of prejudice. "The things I went through, the kind of subjects I have studied, the kind of treatment I have received from my parents and teachers must have made me the fine person I am. Therefore, they are good for my children." We inquire without regard to new conditions, "Who are these people that want to work for \$2.50 an hour? I worked many a day for \$1.50."

Another form of prejudice might be called the inversion of the syllogism. It runs something like this: I once knew a fat man who was very jolly. Therefore, I believe that all fat men are jolly. I was nearly hit by a Ford. Therefore, I must run for cover whenever I see a Ford approaching. We once heard a policeman complaining bitterly about his troubles because his beat included so many Negroes and Italians. In a moment he was saying, "But the worst thing I have to put up with is the way the public calls me a flat-foot just because some policemen are lazy." We tend very much to attribute to individuals our normal stereotypes of groups of peoples. One of the most eloquent examples is the term "the Negro." In America we have the descendants of more than 100 distinct ethnic groups of Negroes.



Psychological Bases of Prejudice

What are some of the psychological bases of prejudice? *Each of us must think well of himself.* We must feel that we are significant. Our particular culture greatly emphasizes superiority as a factor in self-respect. Probably the principal motive for prejudice and discrimination is the motivation "to be better than." High school graduates can proclaim themselves to be better than all persons who have not finished high school. Any man can be better than half the human race by insisting that men are superior to women. We sing little songs about how the bluebird group is better than the robin group, and make it seem so by the singing.

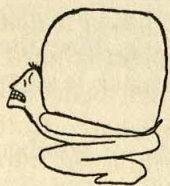
Certainly no group can be healthy when any significant number of its members feel insecure about their own status, about the integrity of their persons. No one can for long be a well-adjusted group member in an atmosphere of insecurity about friends, homes, and jobs.

Much of life today dwarfs the significance of the individual.

This makes group identification more necessary. We can sit well wrapped up and safe in a great stadium and beat our rivals to a pulp on the football field below. Aged congressmen proclaim as they beat their chests, "We will fight to the last drop of blood." Organized baseball gives us the opportunity to hurl invective and insults at strong men behind the shelter of restraining fences and league rules. Few of us as individuals would subject another human being to cruelty or indignity. As members of groups we are able to do this in clear conscience. Unfortunately many portions of the world are less mature politically than ours. We who believe in the democratic way of life have made small beginnings in conceiving its central idea to be the conception of the dignity of every person and that the grossest immorality is the violation of that dignity—the imposition of indignity, pain, humiliation, deprivation upon another person or the withholding of basic human rights from him. As individuals we have become quite moral in this respect. However, as members of corporations, clubs, faculties, states, we can indulge in imposition without remorse.

Despoilers Use Prejudice to Their Own Advantage

Most Americans today would like to abandon discrimination and be allowed to deal with every human being in terms of his own qualities and behavior without regard to his complexion, his parentage, his religion, and factors irrelevant to the matter at hand. Among our most burdensome sinners are those few despoilers who would build personal fortune and political advantage upon the ignorance of other humans whether minority groups according to race, religion, sex, or intelligence quotient. Perhaps we can interpret more immediately the meaning of, "As ye have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."



Throughout most of recorded history man has sought to shift the burden of his labor to the backs of other men. Human slavery has existed in many forms and its beneficiaries have justified it to God in many ways. A generation ago E. A. Ross wrote of this need of man to justify whatever he does:

The will to exploit lasts as long as the power to exploit. Exploiters never tire of exploitation. A kept class never loses

its taste for consuming the fruits of other men's toils, nor does it ever give up exploiting out of conviction of sin. Its manner of life becomes completely adjusted to its parasitism, and it never fails to develop moral standards, theories, and ideals which chime with the economic basis of its life.⁵

The issue of discrimination against races is acute throughout the world, particularly in those sections where the bulk of arduous and distasteful labor has been done by persons who could readily be identified at sight as the working class. The Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, Poles, and others who built most of industrial America could readily disappear into the melting pot by taking a bath, dressing in the prevailing fashion, and permitting their children to learn the language and ways of the dominant group. The thinking and moral integrity of the dominant groups in any region will be vastly improved by their recognition of the fact that always dominant groups everywhere have developed ceremonies of keeping laborers "in their place."

Inoculation against Prejudice

We do not particularly deplore the existence of prejudice. We do not expect it to be eliminated. In the realm of prejudice the sin is not in the prejudice but in not knowing our prejudices. An important bit of knowledge of oneself is knowledge of one's prejudices.

Know thy prejudices

We believe the admonition, "*Know thyself!*" is so necessary that we would like to propose another one for teachers, "I will never withhold opportunity from nor impose indignity upon any child because of the behavior, color, religious faith, or economic status of his parents."

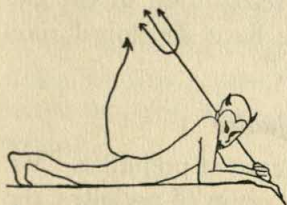
A most interesting system of stereotypes among teachers is that of calling some children gifted, some dull, some feeble-minded, without regard for what they can or cannot do. We believe a relevant question to ask in all cases is, "Gifted in what? Dull in what?" We believe that a lot of sense could be injected into our treatment of unusual children by paying strict attention to what they are like and what they do, and avoiding all stereotyped categories. Certainly the further from average a child is the less

⁵ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 152.

able are we to define his qualities without knowing him individually. One of the more important outcomes of an education must be the disposition and ability to evaluate other people in terms of their *unique* qualities rather than in terms of normative descriptions of categories in which they might be placed for the convenience of some categorizer.

Give up blaming

One of the greatest handicaps to understanding the condition of a group or the condition of the individual is the quest for a person or a condition to blame. Those of us who have some responsibility for guiding the development of children are of course seriously tempted to find explanations for their behavior outside ourselves. It is interesting to contemplate the history of "the devil." Throughout the ages some people have believed in a flesh and blood devil who went about thwarting the goodness of man. The concept of original sin has comforted many people throughout history. Even since the founding of America, we have had widespread belief in the existence of demons or witches; this belief we express every time we demand of a child, "What has gotten into you?"



As we became more learned and noted that certain physical qualities tend to be inherited, heredity came to be one of the more modern devils. It must be obvious to thoughtful persons that, while we do tend to inherit our bodies and physical characteristics, we could not possibly inherit human behavior. The devil of heredity was rather quickly followed by his diabolical eminence, the I.Q. A generation ago men of great learning proclaimed that from the ranks of the low I.Q.'s came nearly all degraded humans. We once had a neighbor who got shot in the pants by a BB gun as he weeded his garden. The neighbor, seeing that the malefactor was a student in the high school of which he was principal, leaped in his car, went down to the high school, and returned saying, "I just can't understand it. His I.Q. is 126." Modern research has rather completely discredited low intelligence as an important source of evil.

Some of our older readers will remember the time that we

snatched the tonsils from every maladjusted or misbehaving child. Later, the heat of blame was directed toward parents. Recently most professional doers of good began screaming at neglectful, beer-drinking, card-playing mothers as the final source of behavior disorders in their children. At the present time, television has become Devil Number One. This quest for a devil or something to blame is an important anesthetic to the intelligent understanding of people.

Examine basic assumptions

Among the more important facts of human life is this: Our certainties increase with our anxieties. Through the ages the philosophers have warned us that an urgent obligation of the human mind is constant re-examination of basic assumptions. In *The King and I*, the Siamese king tells of his plight in holding on tightly to ideas he doubts in these words:

And it puzzles me to learn
That though a man may be in doubt of what he knows,
Very quickly will he fight
He'll fight to prove that what he does not know is SO!⁶

Absolutism serves as a retreat from examining the validity of what one believes. It is used to keep from listening to any different ideas. Labels are handy for the absolutist. He can dismiss any uncomfortable notions by branding them as radical, or prejudiced, or old-fashioned, or unscientific, or irreligious.

Raise questions with the young

We can do some other things about inoculation against prejudice. We can help our children to select their class officers by considering the jobs to be done and the qualities of individuals available to do those jobs. We can help the young learn that people tend to act in accord with their feelings and that good thinking is required to conserve and foster good feeling. Perhaps we can help young people to learn that a group should function only in matters of relevancy. When a boy is elected football captain because he belongs to a certain fraternity rather than

⁶ Copyright 1951 by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd. Williamson Music Inc., New York, owner of publication and allied rights.

because he is a competent leader in a football game, this group has operated outside its relevancy. When a youngster gets a leading part in a play because she belongs to a dominant family or group rather than because she can play the part well, human values have been sacrificed.

As children make their stereotyped comments about individuals we can inquire, "How do you know?"

Learn the arts of communication

In our generation the whole world has closed in with a great rush. We must now deal with persons from all over the world in our daily lives. We are making rapid progress in learning to communicate with people of different languages. We hope every one of our readers will have the opportunity to experience simultaneous translation such as can be heard in the United Nations



and other assemblies involving persons using different languages. It is not enough to communicate. We must learn to respect and act in accord with cherished ideas, even prejudices, of other people. One of the authors of this book had this fact brought eloquently to his attention a few years ago when visiting with a citizen of Bombay. After some discussion of the current famine in India, the American

UN inquired of the Hindu, "When are you people going to stop worshipping your cattle and start eating them?" He answered, almost mischievously, "That will be about the time you Americans start eating your dogs."

Our generation has produced the study of semantics, which is concerned with *meanings*. Students in this field have widened our horizons about how we use words and for what purposes as well as the interpretations that are placed upon our words. Hayakawa,⁷ Chase,⁸ and Johnson⁹ have made significant contributions in this area.

⁷ I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1941).

⁸ Stuart Chase, *The Tyranny of Words* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1938).

⁹ Wendell Johnson, *People in Quandaries* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946).

Resolve sources of conflict through group intelligence

Urgent threats to the well-being of groups of people prevail in our culture. We see today much social friction resulting from the wide gap between the values and wishes of elders and the young. Members of groups have restricted space and restricted time. Variations in wishes become unduly important. Many schools and communities urgently need to learn how to resolve these differences and reconcile the concerns of varied members of their groups by intelligent discussion and compromise rather than through struggles for power. Older people are annoyed by horseplay, running, and yelling; adolescents are not annoyed by them. Thus we find strenuous struggles for power between those who manage high schools and those for whom high schools are managed.

Another important source of social friction is the existence of uneven, unjust degrees of influence within the group. If some individuals or inner groups can have their way merely by expressing a wish or issuing an order while others gain satisfaction through perversity, deception, or pleading, we cannot have healthy group life.

We must teach our young how to handle these controversial problems in intelligent ways. This requires major emphasis upon the methods of discussion. The adolescent's education must be more extensively concerned with the resolution of real problems and less concerned with studying about issues that have been dead for several centuries. Arriving at consensus, defining areas of agreement, finding ways to rechannel hostility, learning how to save face, analyzing the meaning of data are skills urgently needed by our young. They are skills that can be learned. Diagnosis without treatment is futile. The rest of this book is designed to help us administer treatment that is appropriate to our needs today.

SECTION III

**What are the dynamics of
learning to live together?**



Courtesy Mary Gibson Sky Hollow Farm



Courtesy Robert Walker

12

Group life is to enhance individual dignity

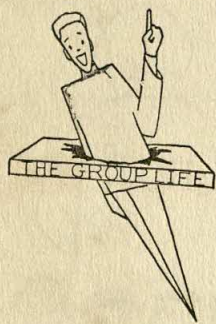
THE critical philosophical difference between democracy and authoritarianism in all its forms is that the ends for which we wish the goods of life are diametrically opposed. Both ideologies profess a concern with feeding the hungry, sheltering the cold, running trains on time, bringing health to the diseased and peace to the warring. Both philosophies profess to be their brother's keeper, to be concerned with all men everywhere. Both philosophies promise an improved way of living to the deprived, the miserable, and the oppressed.

The authoritarian purpose, the motivation for its concerns, stems from the belief that *the group is the supreme end*. The group is self-selected, self-perpetuating, and maintains an elite of its individuals. The will of this elect few at the top is then handed down to local groups through whatever prevailing machinery may exist—secret police; local committees on production, distribution, allocation. The individual's life, his goods, his produce are used to fulfill the quotas established by the group. The individual's welfare is at every point and in all realms tied irrevocably to group decision, and the individual must be trained to understand, feel, and accept at all times the supremacy of the group, and his own subservience to it. He must never question the wisdom of the group. He votes, he



participates in decision-making, he elects officers, he has choices—all in a framework of circumscribed conditions and of preconditioned responses. Thus the individual exists for purposes of manipulation by others. He is trained from birth to be group-minded. He is a creature whose mechanisms can be put to use for those purposes deemed expedient by the governing group. Accepting this doctrine infers accepting that man is a mechanistic organism that can be conditioned to respond in predetermined ways appropriate to group supremacy. The doctrine is supported by a psychology of conditioned reflexes, by a physics of static matter, by a materialistic, mechanistic concept of man. Our times have produced at least two great satires describing this way of life—*Nineteen Eighty-four*¹ by Orwell and *Brave New World*² by Huxley. Many centuries ago Plato commented: "A slave is one who gets his purposes from somebody else."

Democracy's purpose, the motivation of concern with man, stems from the belief that individual dignity and well-being are the supreme end of group endeavor, that man's associations are for the purpose of enhancing, strengthening, making more operative that dignity. This presupposes that man has the inherent capacity for dignity, that living can be so managed—regardless of its specifics—that dignity pervades. Democracy states a faith in the individual's being able to make wise choices without benefit of coercion, deceptive persuasion, propaganda machines, or other manipulative devices. Democracy believes in not only the right but also the duty of the individual to examine the validity of majority decisions.



Examining the differences between authoritarian and democratic concepts of *man* is a significant way of distinguishing between these two pervading ideologies. Man as a tool for the group versus the group as an expression of man's unique, individual dignity seems a clear mark of distinction between the two ideologies.

The quality of group life directed to the enhancement of indi-

¹ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-four* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1949).

² Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932).

vidual living is the focus of this chapter. We are seeking to draw the dimension of Lindeman's words: "The good man knows how to work in and through groups but steadfastly refuses to become collectivized."³

Emphasis on Satisfying Process

In terms of the enrichment of living, the quality of experience as we get things done is as important as what we accomplish. Our major concern in a democracy shifts from efficiency, perfectionism at all costs, to the process of working things out so that individuals have satisfaction in the working. The way people feel about themselves, and each other, and about their situations is of enough importance to take time.

In school life this means we take time to understand the processes that are operating in each situation. We help children understand what is involved in scapegoating, in rejection, in rumor-mongering, in aggression, in tattling, in deceiving, in withdrawing as well as in caring, in sharing, in pooling our thoughts and feelings. We take time to talk with children about the how and why of decisions as well as about what decisions seem wiser than others.

Gertie and Lucy want to go to the zoo when room 202 has its turn to use the bus for a trip. The others prefer to go to the beach. The teacher helps the group see that Gertie and Lucy really want to go to the zoo, that they do not want the others not to go to the beach. The bus can go only one place. Soon it will be too cool to go to the beach. Then they can go to the zoo. Johnny points out that the zoo won't smell so bad when it's cooler. Or, perhaps they can arrange for Gertie and Lucy to go to the zoo with another group. Or it may be that Gertie and Lucy have never been to a zoo, and want so much to go that the other 28 will decide to give up the beach and show the new girls a "zoo of a time."

In pondering the problem and the interests involved, the children have not merely decided where to go. They have experienced making a decision through pondering a problem of conflicting interests and coming to a decision through discussion and consensus and have planned in terms of the greatest weight

³ Lecture made on occasion of William H. Kilpatrick's Eightieth Birthday by Eduard C. Lindeman at Hotel Commodore, November 17, 1951.

of wanting. They have recognized the validity of wanting something different from the majority. They have helped the dissenters find a respected place in the group, and they have realized they haven't given up much, for they enjoy the zoo, too.

People whose living is enhanced share in the process of enhancing. A few people don't enhance living for the many. "Let me make your life good" is resented by most of us as a patronizing gesture robbing us of a measure of our integrity. The teacher who arranges an enchanting surprise for the children, the social worker who decides that the family needs to get out of the city, the mother who buys her daughter's "prom" dress, the employer who decides to remodel the office are operating on apparent motivations of enhancing living for others. They have overlooked the need we all have "to be in on the act," if appreciation and utilization is to reach its greatest potential.



Recognizing Change as a Universal Quality of Living

The democratic way considers change desirable and necessary to maintain good living for people. Man is complexly built to accommodate himself to great varieties of circumstances. His ready acceptance and accommodation to changing conditions is necessary to his own stable adjustment. Man directs and guides and evaluates change in terms of the enhancement of the living of individuals. Change promises more stability if it is a continuous, gradual process growing out of man's effort to meet his emerging needs.

Of late, cities have become less and less hospitable to children. As real estate values have soared, the spaces formerly used for play have been filled with adult property. This seemed an inevitable change because we did not foresee and plan to accommodate youth's need for space. As youthful zeal and energy pressed against the adult community, we provided, as an afterthought, great parks and recreation centers, most of them far from youngsters' homes. We are reminded of one youth center that is so grand it takes twice as many people to maintain it as there are youth workers employed. Inevitably, concern mounted for the way youth used the facilities. In many cities today we have tried

to cure the evil of inadequate space with ill-begotten regimentation.

We recall the dismay of some earnest ladies who had found space for a Youth Canteen and had given generously of labor and money to fit it as a place where young people might spend evening hours. They provided space for dancing, ping-pong, card-playing, and other activities. Soon they sought an expert to diagnose the Canteen. "It's a failure," they moaned. Upon visiting the center the consultant beheld a few couples dancing, two ping-pong matches, a half dozen active card games, and about a hundred youngsters sitting in small groups, a few in pairs, just talking. Of these hundred "idlers" the ladies said, "See! They're not doing anything!" Few human activities are more gratifying or more important than "just talking" with friends. In terms of enhancement of human living, the Canteen was a great success.

Much juvenile delinquency results from youth's quest just for a place to be with friends! Now that cities have produced the phenomenon of dispossessed youth, adults are faced with evolving a steady but continuous process of changing (improving) the conditions for urban youth.

Tradition has value, too. Routines for essential tasks and the satisfaction of persistent needs supply the roller-bearings of comfortable living. The criterion, however, for maintaining tradition and for contemplating change is, "What will this mean to me and my colleagues? What will it mean to all affected thereby?" If we understand the criterion to be the greatest good for those of us concerned, we begin making the adjustments necessary to accommodate to change.

Democracy is skeptical of fixed ways of behaving. Whenever the cliché is used, "We do it this way here," better start looking for hidden traps. We *don't* do it this way here unless *we* decide to do it this way here. Sam Smith's father put up the neatest field of shocked wheat in Adams County. Sam learned from him just how to do it, and took great pride in his own straight rows of uniform shocks. But all the neighbors turned to combines and had no shocks, the machines



for threshing shocked wheat disappeared from the neighborhood, and Sam, Jr., couldn't afford to own one. He sadly gave up his beautiful, right way to harvest wheat, but finds bread isn't nearly so good as it used to be. Perhaps it isn't, but harvesting wheat by combine takes much less of sweat and callouses, and reduces greatly the need for itinerant harvesters.

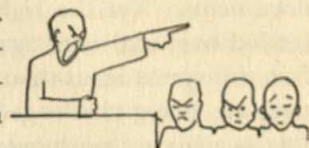
Continuous appraisal is a quality of democracy. In a school we interpret this to mean that the curriculum is under constant assessment to see if it meets the needs of children as they live and grow where they are. In modern schools children are busy evolving ever-better ways of living together. Teachers are devising improved ways of working with parents and pupils. The total organizational structure, in fact, is established for a continuing kind of relationship encouraging orderly, systematic change, accommodation to ever-changing circumstances.

Miss Jones lamented the displacement of the pot-bellied stove by an automatic oil burner. The stove had been a genuine reason to get the older boys to school a bit early for some extra talk and counsel often required by the older ones. She and these boys talked it over and devised more productive, less sooty ways to spend the extra hour the stove had required—after it occurred to them that there was no special magic in starting school for all at nine o'clock or at any other time.

Process of Deciding and Decision Are Kept Whole

In a democracy the quality of the process of deciding is considered an integral part of the quality of the decision. In reaching a decision a group can treat members so violently as to render the planned action worthless. Since the purpose is to have the decision represent a synthesis or integration of creative group thinking, implementing or enforcing the decision looms nowhere as important or as difficult as when decisions are imposed from within or from above. The ideal is to expand the voluntary phases of decision-making and decision-implementing. If all those affected participate, if the flow of information is free, if respect is accorded to all participants alike, if all possible alternatives are explored, the chances are that the decision will be so well understood and so preserved in good will that implementation proceeds in an orderly, productive manner. Lindeman describes the continuum from the authoritarian type of decision-making

to democratic as proceeding from acquiescence to assent to compromise to consent to integration. Acquiescence implies a process of commanding and obeying. Assent implies a process of telling and accepting; compromise a process of debating and sacrificing. Consent implies a process of developing and agreeing; integration a process of exploring and inventing.⁴ As a group grows away from authority dominance to group power the process of making decisions involves more completely the values of consent and integration. If this process is used, the decision represents something new—a creation of group thinking. The decision is valid for it has the backing of those who made it. It is significant for it serves as a commitment of all those who evolved it. Thus the decision-making process and the product (the decision) are kept whole.



"We have decided . . ."

A group of students who had had several weeks of meaningful experience together had to decide whether or not to admit another student midway in their course. The leader asked the group to make the decision because it was their group. She thus relinquished acquiescence and consent as ways of making decisions. She gave them all the information she had. They discussed the issue with the result that the vast majority casually said, "Sure, let's admit him." Two students felt it would be unwise since the newcomer had missed so much which had been experienced together. Here was a split group. The issue was discussed. Clarification, re-statement of the problem, expression of personal feelings emerged. Gradually an integrative decision evolved. The majority saw that just admitting the student was not enough. They had definite and extensive responsibilities for his orientation. The dissenters recognized that with all sharing in the orientation and with extensive criteria established for the nature of the orientation, the student could become a valuable member of the group. Since the dissenters were judged to be the most sensitive to the problems of newcomers, they were asked to be unusually sensitive to the needs and progress of the new student.

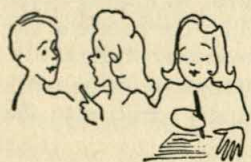
Encouraging Free Expression of Interest, Concerns, and Opinions

Democratic processes value the free expression of all concerns, all points of view, all opinions. Our country was originally com-

⁴ John J. Hader and Eduard C. Lindeman, *Dynamic Social Research* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1933), p. 88.

posed of individuals whose opinions were not valued in their homelands. This cherished value is stated in our fundamental documents. Yet the right to free expression has had to be defended over and over again. Many people today feel much less free to express ideas than they did a generation ago. Free countries are being challenged to "curb free expression." Some feel this is a luxury no longer to be afforded. Pressures from many sources seek to stifle the individual who dares to dissent. Coercion may be subtle, as upon the new teacher who gets the idea that it is wise to find out what the teacher down the hall thinks about a problem before voicing her own opinions. A democracy is stronger when genuine dissenters stimulate further discussion, clarification, investigation, and urge reconsideration of action. The dissent of individuals and minority groups is valuable to the responsible majority. A democratic structure must insure recognized, respectable avenues for hearing all shades of opinion. Head counting doesn't necessarily result in wise decisions. Provision for evaluating differences is imperative.

A group of eleven-year-olds were trying to decide the day for their school picnic. The boy chairman called for a vote which turned out to be eleven for Tuesday, thirteen for Thursday, and four for Wednesday. The decision was made: "Picnic on Thursday," although there were more who didn't want it on Thursday than who did. Fortunately, the dissenters were vigorous and insisted upon discussing the value of the vote. This brought out the fact that a number of mothers upon whom the group were counting for transportation could not attend on Thursday. When a full-blown discussion was allowed to emerge, Wednesday became the most advantageous day for the picnic.



Too frequently we decide on serious, adult affairs by a show of hands and by so doing keep submerged much of the information and feeling needed for wise decisions.

Seeking Diversity and Creativity

Closely related to the value of free expression are the values of diversity and creativity. Democracy is a philosophy that not only tolerates diversity but gains strength because of it. Diversity has more survival power than conformity. Nature illustrates this principle. The ethics of all great religions endorse this concept.

The United States has met its major social problems by applying inventiveness and embracing diverse methods. Our forefathers had no fixed ways of meeting their problems. The Great Depression yielded to creative and diverse ideas about economics, distribution of goods, responsibilities of government, and other social legislation. Today we have diverse economic patterns in our country. Some areas are controlled by federal and state legislation, whereas other areas operate as free enterprises of groups and individuals. A democracy has room for and needs diverse economic patterns and solutions.

The people of our country are diverse in national origin, race, religion, and socio-economic status. From this multi-culture comes a variety of creative powers that we only partially utilize—partially because not all diversities are permitted the same freedom of movement and opportunity. But we are increasing the respect accorded such groups as Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans. The Supreme Court decision on segregation is an implicit endorsement of diversity. Atlanta, Georgia, for instance, now has a Negro member on its Board of Education because representation of colored people was valued. The Armed Services are becoming integrated. Opportunities for employment and freedom of movement are nowhere near equal for all groups, but the trend is an encouraging one. We rejoice that now the moral force of the courts is on the same side as the law in regard to segregation.

Democracy seeks diversity of loyalties. One may be a loyal Catholic, a loyal Democrat, a loyal union member, a loyal Elk, a loyal Virginian, as well as a loyal American. This prevents the fanatic kind of inverted group loyalties witnessed in Germany during Hitler's regime wherein children were trained to place loyalty to state above all else even if it entailed spying and reporting on parents, denying one's religion, disavowing all affiliations not recognized as part of the State.

By encouraging such diversity, an individual has a chance to be himself without coercion from groups. The diversity of groups gives him a chance to find himself at home in those groups that seem harmonious to his aims. His chances for rich, satisfying living are multi-directional, rather than uniformly directed into one channel.

Thinking Straight about Areas of Conformity

Yes, democracy cherishes diversity and creativity, but some areas of conformity are imperative also in a democracy. These areas establish order and regularity to living, thus giving the individual security in knowing what to expect. Our principle for endorsing conformity is to conform in those areas that do not impinge upon individual freedoms. We conform in a thousand and one ways as we cross state lines. We know that traffic will keep to the right from coast to coast; that one can call for a letter at general delivery in any village in the country; that red means "stop" and green means "go"; that a fire hydrant means "no parking"; that lighted cigarettes are not thrown carelessly into a forest; that roadside parks are for picnicking—not for littering; that wild fowl are shot only in season; that the fire siren says, "Clear the street." We conform in all of these ways that life may be better for all of us. These conformities help us as individuals. None of them threatens any of our values and therefore they are acceptable and desirable. Conformity in these ways in no sense casts us all into uniform patterns.

Sometimes we seek to extend these conformities to areas that do threaten values or work a hardship upon people. Some schools have attempted, for instance, to compel children to participate in religious rituals that are not acceptable to the children and their parents. When we shame children because their speech does not conform to our standards, we are seeking a uniformity that may

NO
BLUE JEANS



damage personality structure. Some schools have established rigid standards of dress and demand conformity to those standards. For instance, one school in a low socio-economic neighborhood requires all boys to wear white shirts and ties to school, inferentially expecting them to be more acceptable than their fathers. Another school forbids boys and girls to wear blue jeans. Social institutions have to draw fine distinctions between what is their business and

what is not, what matters are ones of individual choice and what matters concern the total group. One would find it difficult to believe that a colored shirt, jeans, or lack of a tie in any way

interferes with the quality of learning. This would seem to be an area of individual choice. The adult world needs to do some careful thinking to determine the areas of life in which it has the right to impose conformity.

We believe our schools sometimes tend to be preoccupied with uniformity and thus lessen individual dignity. No individual can realize his full creative potential if he has to be stamped with a uniform pattern of behavior involving speech, dress, manner, customs, and achievement.

Pervading Spirit of Faith

Trust in one's colleagues is imperative in a democracy. We recognize that people's motivations are not always unselfish. Yet individual dignity vanishes with the advent of suspicion, distrust, and carping. The function of the group is so to operate as to reduce causes or temptation for suspicion. The function of the individual in the group is so to conduct his group living that misinterpretations do not come easily. Group life is not healthy unless common purposes, clearly understood and decided upon by the total group, are the motivating powers of the group. These purposes enable groups to function in confidence. When differences arise, as they will, an effort to understand the personal and ideological position of the dissenter is required. Understanding why people behave as they do enables group members to disagree without being disagreeable.

Categorizing and stereotyping stop the group where it is. We must believe that, given appropriate circumstances, people behave appropriately. We make impossible this behavior if we so circumscribe the situations that no new patterns have a chance to emerge. People of good will are not limited to any one area or one group. They exist throughout our land and in all groups. Increasingly it becomes clear that men of good faith wherever they are join hands in achieving common goals significant to them.

Free Flow of Information

One marked difference between a democratic and an authoritarian group is that in a democratic group all pertinent information is available and efforts are made to keep the lines of communication open among all parts of a group and among related groups.

A democratic group has real purposes, real problems. It is not a rubber stamp of some other authority, nor is it satisfied by being permitted to choose its own rubber stamp. The information pertinent to the problems must be collected, assessed, and interpreted



before decisions are made. This process utilizes diverse talents within the group, thus enhancing individual capacities. The group considers ways to establish and maintain communication with interested participants. Opinionnaires, polling devices, reaction sheets, and feed-backs are used to keep everyone informed and to gain knowledge of reactions and opinions from those concerned.

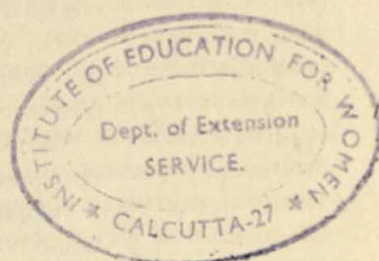
Shunning Manipulative Devices

The conscious and deliberate manipulation of another individual is an indignity not to be tolerated! Democratic groups must assess constantly purposes, plans, and methods to avoid this evil. One measure of a democratic group is the extent of its freedom from manipulative devices. What is the difference between manipulating and influencing? Manipulation is limiting one's methods to an emotional appeal, requiring decisions to be made on partial information, pressuring by high-powered status or prestige devices, appealing to fear, anger, and other regressive emotions, utilizing extraneous and non-pertinent motivations and information to secure action. Manipulation carries with it the connotation of exploitation. If a high-powered propaganda machine is employed to secure votes, other qualities have been abrogated to some degree and to that degree the individual is captive to the group. This is to be distinguished from the efforts of earnest proponents of a plan of action who seek to marshal support through supplying information and applying exhortation in complete respect of his "victim's" right to make his own final decision.

When our middle-aged readers were youngsters, Senator Robert M. LaFollette was known to many of our parents as a dangerous radical. Today a great portion of his then "visionary" program is written into the law of our land. A people takes great risks in rendering minorities speechless and powerless.

We have tried in this chapter to summarize briefly the vital principles of a democratic society as they function to enhance living for the individual. These principles have had their greatest

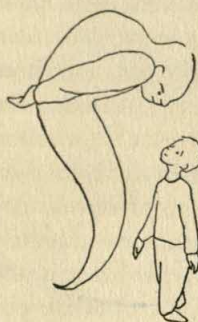
test in our country. They are being tested today in the court of world opinion. We believe these principles are more harmonious with the developmental needs of human beings than any others that have yet emerged. We believe just as forcibly that these principles have not yet had a chance to function very completely because of the unevenness of our culture. Our public schools were established to help promote these principles. The time is at hand when we must accept the original purpose of the schools as a moral and social obligation. We hope the remainder of this book will be helpful to teachers as they work toward ever more enduring realizations of democratic living.



13

The role of the adult in the child's life

"AREN'T you ashamed of yourself? You bad girl—pinching your baby sister!"



"Your face is dirty! People won't like you if you go around filthy dirty!"

"Go to your room immediately, John, and stay there until your father gets home. He'll take care of you!"

"Why can't you be like your brother Sam? He doesn't give me any trouble."

"What will the neighbors think if you bring home boys like Jack? He's not our kind."

"You get in the house by ten o'clock, young man. You hear me? You're coming to a bad end. Mark my words."

"You won't let your mother down, will you, son, after all I've done for you?"

We've heard adults shame children, boss them, command them, threaten and bribe them, bargain with them, and play upon their sympathies. We have also heard adults reason with children, have fun with them, accept their outbursts, and help those who are troubled to understand their behavior. We've known adults who were able to help children work out solutions to their problems of growing up, in ways that strengthened their personalities. Recently, a colleague commented after visiting one of his friends, "Love was just bursting out of that family. It was a joy to spend an evening with them."

Children *do* need adults. They need wise, comforting, stable adults whom they trust. Yet modern living encourages adult neglect of children. Many mothers find it necessary to work. The tempo of mid-twentieth century is incompatible with childhood. Therefore, our age has to work harder to secure adult-child relations that are continuous and constructive.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and evaluate some of the roles that adults play in the lives of children. We'll try to see these roles as they are viewed by the children. Then we'll look at the kinds of roles children seek and need. Finally, we'll examine the roles that the teacher plays in the child's life.



Children's Perception of Adults

Children see in adults what they have learned to see. Some children see the adult as the "big, bad wolf"—a symbol of fear. Others see adults as "old fuddy-duddies." One boy in describing his step-father said, "Don't get me wrong. I don't dislike him. He's just stupid." Some adolescents look upon adults as bunglers. They say, "Look at the mess you've got the world in, and then you try to tell us how to do things; what to make of our lives!" Many, many children see adults as people to love, to identify themselves with, to learn from, to be like. "My mother is the most beautiful person in the whole world," sighs a small girl with satisfaction, and the ten-year-old boy hails his father by, "Take me fishing, dad."

The children in some communities automatically duck when a policeman is spotted. In other communities the sight of a policeman causes the children to come running so that they may "walk his beat" with him. We know how different the experiences of these children with policemen have been.



Pictures well-developed by school entrance

Each child comes to school with well-developed pictures of adults, formed from the experiences he has had with the adults in *his* life. The over-all feeling tone of some of these pictures

is favorable or positive; of other pictures the tone is one of indifference, of others negative. In all the pictures, the adult represents more than just himself. He is, for instance, a symbol of authority. The manner in which the adult uses his authority determines how the child feels, not only toward the grown-ups he knows but also toward himself, toward other adults, and toward authority in general. Thus a child's early experiences determine his attitudes toward adults and toward whatever roles these adults play.

If a child's experiences have taught him that adults mean anger, violence, neglect, indifference, we must modify his picture if he is to grow. To succeed in this task, we have to ask ourselves what we see when we see a child, for we, too, have developed pictures out of our own experiences. Prevalent in our culture are some damaging concepts of children. Vestiges of these concepts cling to us, perhaps without our awareness. Let us look at some of them.

Adults' Pictures of Children

Historically a child was considered a little grown-up. Expectations for him were the same as for adults, only in smaller measure. Thus, the adult might reasonably expect a child to sit quietly for long periods of time. Adults do, don't they? We find this expectation applied in schools today. "See how quiet they are!" exclaims the proud teacher to his supervisor.



Another concept is that the child is a puppet. We adults are the puppeteers. The child is to do our bidding. The wise teacher asks himself, "Why do I need to control children? Why do I become angry if they question my decisions, delay responding to commands? Do I have good reasons for my expectations of children or do I make demands to satisfy my need to control?" Sometimes we hear teachers say, "Don't ask any questions. Just do as I tell you." Or the need to control is expressed in more subtle ways. Bribes, the dispensation of special privileges, and charm are handy tools for adults who need to control children.

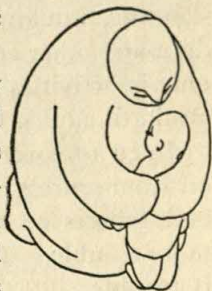
Some of us have grown up believing children are "little devils." They are born wicked and can be purified only by strict discipline. We feel guilty if we do not punish what seems to be misbehavior. We see a child as a source of irritation and annoyance—a "fidgeting, noisy brat" who must be brought into line. We see schools as a means whereby he can learn to control and subdue his bad impulses.

What we see when we see a child determines our relationships to children. It is important for adults to see children as unique human beings, neither good nor bad except as their living makes them that way; to see children as having purposes of their own and growth patterns which they must follow, a configuration of attitudes and feelings that they must attend to because their living demands it. Our tasks as teachers are to help children find adults who have this kind of picture and to help adults see themselves as more experienced equals working with dignified humans.

Adult Roles as Viewed by Children

The long dependency of childhood and the mores of our culture cause most children to see adults in certain roles. They see an adult as a "supply-depot." From adults come food, clothing, toys, pets, spending money. "I want an ice cream cone; may I have a bicycle?" speaks the child. "What did you bring me?" often means, "Do you love me?" They see adults as dispensers of fun. "Take me walking with you; tell me a story, daddy; let's go for a ride, mummy; I want to go to the show tonight." Children see adults as people to "show me how." "Show me how to start the car; show me how to hold the baby. Let me help you make the cake."

Children see adults as trouble-shooters. They come running when they get hurt. The small child stubs his toe, or skins his dignity. He runs to mother for sympathy and comfort. If children are fortunate, they retain this perception of adults as they grow, so that the ten-year-old comes to his dad to sob out his heart when his dog is hit by a truck. Or a teenager discusses his dating problems with mother or father. If children are fortunate, they see adults as people who are holding out their hands to them at six, twelve,



and sixteen years as they did at six, twelve, and sixteen months.

Children see adults as rulers. Parents or parent surrogates say "do" and "don't" to children from birth. They set limits for the child. "You may play in the front yard, but don't go into the street," is said to the four-year-old. "Be in by midnight," calls mother to the teenager. Children see adults as distributors of rewards and punishments if limits are observed or disregarded. "You've been such a good boy today. Here's an extra cookie for you!" "You go to your room immediately and stay there until I call you."

Children see adults as reservoirs of knowledge. Adults are people who have lived a long time and learned a great deal. Most of us do not realize how tremendous the span of time between the little child and the grown-up. The difference between the childhood of his parents and the childhood of George Washington just doesn't exist for most youngsters until they are ten, eleven, or twelve years old. And so children turn to us for answers to their questions. First come the "What's this? What's that?" Then the "Why, daddy, why?" And "How does it work? How can that be?"

Feelings about roles determine behavior

To understand that there are some significant roles children seek from adults is not enough. We must know the cluster of emotions the child has learned about the adults he has known. One child may associate fear, shame, anger, guilt, and resentment with adults. Another may *feel* that adults are receptive, understanding, fun-loving, adventuresome, and that they respect children and other adults. Another may learn that he can have fun only in activities forbidden or feared by grown-ups. If a child is afraid of adults, he is not likely to seek their help. He is more inclined to cover up his troubles. He voluntarily cuts himself off from sources of comfort or protection, for he has learned that such sources are misleading and disappointing. They only bring more trouble. The child learns that he is *in* trouble because he is trouble.

How well Nick illustrates this response in *Knock on Any Door*¹

¹ Willard Motley, *Knock on Any Door* (New York: Signet Book, 1947). By arrangement with Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

As long as Nick had confidence in his parents, confidence in his school and in his church, he confided in them and secured help from them. But circumstances changed. His home was torn apart by poverty, worry, and uprooting. His parents were so troubled they lost contact with Nick. His school and church in the new neighborhood kicked him around. Soon Nick learned to fear, to circumvent, to avoid adults and all the institutions he associated with adulthood. Then Nick was lost. After Nick learned these negative feelings, no adult could reach him. The cop on the school corner tried to help him when he got in trouble for breaking schoolhouse windows. It was too late. Nick hated cops and he became angry with his parents because they invited the cop in. As his father beat him, the boy was thinking:

I won't give you the satisfaction of making me cry. No, not even if you kill me . . . there was no relenting, no breaking on the part of either. . . . The sting was in Nick's flesh, creeping in needles all over his skin. But it was deeper too. Nothing would take it out.²

No, nothing would take the sting out of Nick's soul. As Nick felt so he behaved, for we behave as we feel. If we feel resentful, we have to retaliate. Adults who wish to help children must try to know and accept their feelings about grown-ups, about themselves, and about what has happened to them.

By listening carefully to children as they play together, by observing the ways in which parents talk to their children, by watching children as they assume adult roles, and by numerous projective devices, we discover little by little the peculiar form, shape, and sound of each child's feelings. As one colleague has put it, "We smell the child's feelings." A delightful, meaningful pamphlet expanding this idea is *Teacher Listen, the Children Speak*.³ By becoming acquainted with the parents of a child we learn much about the feelings flowing between them. Knowing other adults in the child's life—a grandparent, an aunt, the store-



² Motley, *Knock on Any Door*, p. 127.

³ James Hymes, *Teacher Listen, the Children Speak* (New York: The New York State Committee on Mental Health, 1949).

keeper, the policeman on the corner, and other teachers—helps to round out the picture. All these adults and many more determine the way the child sees adults.

Teacher's Role in the Child's Life

The teacher is the one professional guide guaranteed each child. We believe each child has the right to teacher-adults who understand and care how all children grow. The wise teacher gives the child opportunity and abundant time to correct the images that he has formed from associations with hurtful adults.

Some children—probably many children—have a particular picture of the teacher-adult. One child was heard to ask another, "Is your mother a teacher-mother, or just a mother?"

The teacher has at least five major roles to play in the child's life: to help each child develop constructive attitudes toward authority, to help each child develop as a unique personality, to be a friend to each child, to challenge each child to learn, and to act as the advocate of children in their communities. We shall discuss each of these roles in the remainder of this chapter.

Developing constructive attitudes toward authority

Freedom for the individual can exist in no meaningful fashion unless an authority system keyed to human needs is in good working order. We are reaping the harvest today of looking upon authority and freedom as incompatible and as operating in separate spheres. Dewey's statement, "In effect, authority stands for stability of social organization by means of which direction and support are given to individuals,"⁴ becomes increasingly significant as we see laissez-faire forms of organization break down. The complexity of our social order necessitates superior understanding of the sources and forms of authority.

One of the teacher's roles is to help each child gain the needed understanding of authority, a respect for it, its sources, and an expanding knowledge of authority operations in our culture. In this task, the teacher is acting as the agent of the larger group (society or community) and as the agent of the children. The teacher has to be clear-headed about how he can serve this dual

⁴ John Dewey, *Intelligence in the Modern World*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1939), p. 344.

role, for at times he finds the roles conflicting. Some communities, for instance, do not cherish their children. Then the teacher acts in the interest of children to try to gain authority or sanction for those things needed for children to grow wholesomely.

Authority a Stabilizer. The teacher helps the children understand how "authority stabilizes a social organization." The classroom and the school is the social unit. "We must have some respected authorities in order to enjoy life here," says the teacher to the group. Through discussion the children think of many necessary limitations. "We need to walk in the halls, to have an order about coming in and leaving the room. We need some kind of working plans so we know what to expect and to be prepared for the events of our day." In this way the teacher helps children develop their own codes of authority.



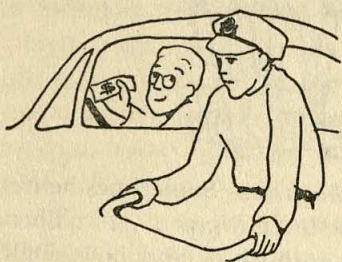
Limitations Imposed by Larger Authorities. Sometimes he has to say, "No, we can't do that because the fire law says . . ." Then the children begin to learn of larger authorities and how small groups must consider the limitations imposed by other groups. When changes need to be made, children find out how this is accomplished. Until the law or regulation is changed, however, it must be respected.

In one school a teacher set children campaigning actively for a new school building by carrying handbills home, distributing literature at parent meetings, and participating in such meetings through stories, short talks, and the like. The state in which the school is located directly prohibits all these activities on the part of children. Even if the end was a worthy one, deserving the unqualified support of the community, the teacher was im-

plicitly teaching disrespect for authority by ignoring the existing structure within which he worked and by which he was governed. He was placing his own private opinion above the authority under which he worked.

Authority to Serve Needs of People. Some of the regulations the children accept to govern their own behavior do not work out; then comes reconsideration, reexamination of the situation, and development of a revised plan. Through this process, children sense how authority changes and that the function of authority is to serve the *needs* of people. If adults of our generation had learned this concept, our legal structure would make more sense. We would have fewer antiquated and improper laws upon our books. One of the tasks of maturing is to develop the kind of attitude that allows room for critical analysis of existing authorities and yet accepts the necessity for living within limitations. Much of the present wave of juvenile delinquency reflects an antagonism toward ordered living. This attitude was learned from the adults of the community. Adults have been prone to scoff at authority, to circumvent existing laws, to believe that they were meant "for the other fellow." Our generation has seen the

black market flourish, the "fixed traffic ticket" a routine practice, and numerous other circumventions of law.



Authentic Sources Imperative. Knowing authentic sources of information is imperative for wholesome attitudes toward authority. Much

of the confusion of our day comes because of unwillingness to accept the "corporate intelligence embodied in science."⁵ The teacher helps the child to clarify existing sources of knowledge and to use his intelligence in organizing his own attitudes and beliefs.

The inner authority that the individual feels because of the beliefs and attitudes which he has incorporated into his being provide his mainsprings for action. This authority remains unquestioned until the individual finds himself in conflict with the

⁵ For a detailed discussion of this concept see John Dewey, *Intelligence in the Modern World*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1939), p. 361.

authorized social structure. Thus a boy in a home of Spanish culture learns in his relations with girls attitudes that he accepts as important to conform to. When he comes to New York City and finds another authority—let's say of "Dutch treats"—he has a conflict until he decides what his own inner authority shall be. Most of us continue to reassess our values as we have experiences that cause us to question the authorities we have learned in childhood.

Current use of mass media of communication adds to the confusion concerning sources of information. Adults find it difficult to discriminate wisely between facts and propaganda. The teacher's role requires him to do all he can to help children learn the techniques and skills of critical thinking and respect for knowing. He has to encourage measures that place more responsibility upon society for the dissemination of all available knowledge.

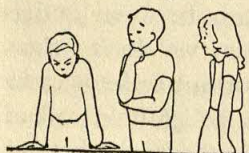
Facts cannot be ignored nor deplored without serious consequences, for they continue to be facts. The consequences may cost the lives of people as in Ibsen's *The Enemy of the People* when the villagers refused to listen to the doctor who said the water was contaminated. Today we cannot live without specialized knowledge, for none of us knows enough. The great atomic scientists stand in the same relationship to society today as did the doctor in Ibsen's play. They advise certain courses of action. They have facts that the rest of us cannot know. If we ignore their counsel, refuse to investigate the grounds upon which some ideas rest, we shall reap the consequences.

As we work with children we try to help them understand how important it is to know, "Is this an opinion?" If so, whose opinion and why does he believe it? Or, "Is this a fact?" And, if so, what is the source of knowledge? Or, "How much fact and how much opinion?" We need to distinguish between beliefs and knowledge, to know that we *believe* when we don't *know*. We need to help children learn that it is important to know *who* believes what and why. How widely is this belief held? And by whom? What are their interests? How did those who believe it come to accept it? We must teach children to read between the lines, to recognize pertinent omissions, to speculate upon motives.

Assessing Requirements of Situation. None of us wishes to live in a lawless world. Neither do we wish to find ourselves and our children paying blind homage to any self-anointed authority who seeks to use people for his own ends. Appropriate attitudes toward authority are developed if we help the child to assess the *requirements of the situation*. Thus instead of, "Miss Jones says we can't cross the street by ourselves," we teach children, "We can't cross the street by ourselves *because the traffic is so heavy that we might get hurt.*" Instead of, "Miss Jones says we can't play with the truck," children say, "We can't play with the truck because others are playing with it." Instead of, "Miss Jones won't let us work in the garden," we hear, "We can't leave now because we are needed here in a few minutes." Instead of, "That old sourpuss won't even excuse us for the basketball tournament," the high school operetta star says, "I sure would like to go, but we have a rehearsal tonight and the show is given Tuesday, so I'll have to miss it."

If our teaching proceeds this way throughout school, the child is encouraged to make his own decisions in terms of the demands of the situation. The sources of authority are becoming internalized. He is examining reasons for doing or not doing rather than giving blind, or resentful, or surface obedience. This is no simple matter. Judgments have to be made about methods to use. For keeping a small child out of the street, a good fence is better authority than threats of punishment.

School Practices that Improve Understanding of Authority. School life gives numerous chances to work out ways for children to understand authority. They decide on their own codes of behavior, and many things about how they will live together as a group so that living is good for all of them. They decide what games can be played indoors, what quiet activities can go on while



a reading group is in session, what toys can be used, and when and what to do when a dispute arises. The wise teacher leads the children to examine the facts rather than to appeal to her for rulings. Codes of behavior are of vital significance to children because they affect their daily living at school. Devising codes causes children to begin to grasp the necessity to give up small portions of individual interest so that life may be good for all.

Frequently school codes are formulated by one group of boys and girls and then handed down to succeeding classes either as printed statements or by word of mouth as being "the way we behave in this school." The group of youngsters who developed the original code probably had a magnificent opportunity to learn the necessity for thinking together about the good of the total group. They undoubtedly learned much respect for authority and were eager to make the code work. For the children who inherited the code many questions may be raised: How much critical thinking are we developing about group behavior if we pass along codes of behavior worked out by former groups? Is there a necessity for people living in a democratic society constantly to examine and reexamine their legal and social structure to see that it fits the present situation? If so, should children have this experience as they grow up?

Existing school codes are used constructively as beginning points for thinking about the necessary rules and regulations of a class or school, for children do need to accept accumulated knowledge. All things cannot be learned from the beginning. Each of us owes an immeasurable debt to those who have gone before. Scientific inquiry, vicarious experiences, and facts are accepted as authority.

As Mumford says, "Only a minute span of experience is really open to private verification and adequate experimental proof; the rest must be taken on faith in the integrity of authority, in science no less than theology."⁶

If the school is to teach respect for authority, it must incorporate within its authority structure such fundamental principles of social life as are compatible with the maturity level of the children, and provide that children should have the opportunity on their level to exercise faculties of thinking, of assessing, of collecting data, and of making choices. The essence of the task, as we understand it, is to teach children that authority and freedom are compatible and that in so doing the teacher acts as the children's agent in society. The kinds of controls we use with children affect their attitudes toward authority. We help children to understand that limitations are placed upon each of us and to see many alternatives as decisions are made. We look at these decisions in terms

⁶ Lewis Mumford, *The Condition of Man* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1944), p. 195.

of consequences and recognize that few decisions are wholly right or wholly wrong. We seek decisions by utilizing all available information; likewise, we seek to verify validity of information so that confusion between fact and opinion is avoided. We believe in children planning every step of the way. As such factors operate, deep, inner respect for authority is developed, understood, and accepted.

Recognizing each child as unique

Every child is unique, different from all others. Look in the classrooms of America and see if we act as if this were a fact. So often we act *as if* standardized procedures fit nearly all children. As a matter of fact, they probably fit few of them well.

The prescribed following of patterns and directions accomplishes no more than the deep-freeze of personality and the provision for frustration. We need to be individuals. We need to be so considered—each different, each unto his own way. If this need is denied, we develop automatons who are all too willing to do anyone's bidding, or rebels who feel like striking out at everything that is prescribed, or embryonic recluses. None of these is a healthy personality. Some children learn to compartmentalize their lives rather early. In school they may conform without murmur, only to take out the aggressions felt in school during the rest of their living.

Each child has a pattern of growth built into his organism. His temperament, reaction time, size, and coordination control to an extensive degree—as we have discussed in the chapter on "Modern Life Employs Uniqueness"—the way in which he must behave.

We secure the most effective results by *working with* the child's uniqueness.



If we treat each child as unique, we will have no mold into which to press all children. We will concern ourselves with discovering the growth pattern and the individuality of each child and then try to find acceptable ways for this individuality to be used to enhance living for the child. We will place a premium upon differences, for we recognize that individual differences bring strength, zest, and expanded opportunities to groups.

Our concern with uniqueness will lead us to help each child secure the nourishment *his* soul requires. Not all lessons will be required of all, any more than all babies have the same formulae. Nor will the same time schedules be imposed upon all. Some children will require two or three times as much time as others to do a specified task. Some will find it impossible to do some tasks that the rest of the group find easy. The world's work requires such infinite variety of skills, competencies, and temperaments that the necessity for all to be uniform is non-existent. Uniformity has become almost a fetish with the American people, narrowing their enjoyment and appreciation as well as handicapping creative intelligence. Too much has the school system encouraged this trend by treating growing human beings as clearly labelled packages to be run off an assembly line.

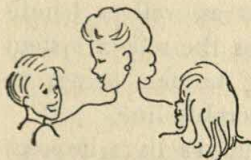
The paucity of opportunity in some children's lives imposes educational tasks upon the teacher to complement out-of-school living. Instead of lamenting the deficiencies we see in children, we become ingenious in finding ways for the school to affect children positively. We think, for instance, of one boy who had three brothers and sisters each having a different father, whose mother shamed and neglected him, who lived in a crowded, dirty neighborhood. Attempts to make him behave like other boys in school increased his problems until he found himself in Miss Carter's room. Other teachers said to her, "Don't knock yourself out over Ned. He'll never amount to anything. He's been a trouble-maker ever since he's been in this school." Miss Carter was wise and kind and knew something about how to reach boys. She found Ned a challenge. She decided his unique need was to learn some control over his own self. She said something like this to Ned, "You forget about reading, writing, arithmetic. As long as you learn how to get along with these other boys and girls, I won't require you to do assignments." They worked together on Ned's special problems. Miss Carter sometimes walked home with Ned. She accepted his behavior without shock. She found a sense of humor worked well with him. In short, she helped Ned find an environment in which *he* could grow.

One principal instructed the teacher of a twelve-year-old girl who had a court record, "Treat her as a piece of furniture. We

have to have her in school, but don't spend any time on her." In these two illustrations, we have two sides of the coin. We doubt if any teacher has the right to teach if he considers even one child no more important than a piece of furniture.

Being a friend to each child

The most important outcome for which we can hope is that the great majority of children may each find in the school an adult who is strong, sympathetic, and interesting; with whom he may talk; and to whom he may reveal some depth of his soul. The paramount role the teacher has is to be a friend to the child, to treat him like other cherished friends.



The child is compelled to go to school. Surely he should find some people who want him to be there and who will help him find the reasons for society's coercion of his time and energies. Modern life makes the exercise of simple friendship difficult for children. Fault-finding, a common activity of parents and teachers, serves as an effective wall to keep us apart. Each of us needs people in his life to whom he can say, "What would you do in my place?" For many children, school is the only place that holds any hope of friendliness; yet normal, friendly relationships of children are forbidden in many schools. When asked, children have said over and over that friendliness was what they prized most or hoped for most earnestly in their teachers.

The teacher represents the only chance many children have for the friendship of wiser, more experienced persons. In an average class of thirty children, from seven to eight children live in homes in which mother-father relationships are shattered or are in a turbulent state, one or two children have a member of the immediate family in an institution for mentally ill or for delinquent behavior, one or two have parents whose only source of income is social security, one or two have a mother or father who is chronically ill, one or two are rejected or unwanted. In other words, approximately one-fourth of our children live in homes in which conditions exist that jeopardize strong, continuous, warm mutual relationships. One gangster speaks thus of his childhood: "I was what it was the most regular thing to be where I was

born and grew up. And it was a tough spot. I'd probably been a Boy Scout if I'd been born in a Boy Scout neighborhood."⁷

Friendship Needed by All. This twenty-five per cent especially needs the friendship of the teacher. We find that these children come from families of all economic levels. Some of us have been trained to believe that the children who live in the "big houses" usually have advantages of "good parents." We find some children from upper socio-economic homes whose parents do not want them. These children live in a hostile, cold atmosphere at home. Many children in this group are cared for by paid employees. They spend more time with these people than with their parents. They seldom see their fathers except on week ends. Their mothers may or may not arrange their social engagements so that they may kiss their children good-night.

Some of these children live behind iron fences. Some ride to school in limousines. Too many mothers and fathers care more about a picture-book yard and a house beautiful than they do about their children. These youngsters often are lonely. They have nearly everything they want before they have wanted it, except being loved and cared for with tenderness and joy. This is devastating to human personality—especially so to growing boys and girls. The newspapers carry dramatic examples now and then of the escapades of children who have grown up in such an environment. Children demand love and care. Denied this, some become so despairing as to seek their parents' anger; even that is more bearable than indifference. These are often the most neglected of all children, for they live in an atmosphere of unreality on an island devoid of fun, surrounded by strong currents of conflict.

The play, *Mrs. McThing*, pictures the needs of a boy treated as a special EXHIBIT THAT MUST BE KEPT under constant surveillance lest something dire—like playing with a common child—should happen to him. This mother used her child as a cute pet to dress up and display whenever it pleased her. Children who have so much of everything, except the companionship of someone who needs them, are desperate for friendship. They need someone who will *take time to care for them*, who will lead them to an

⁷ Donald Henderson Clarke, *Louis Beretti* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1929), p. 76.

understanding of the quality of giving and caring, someone who has enough professional insight to help them grow. Where can they find such an adult if not in the teacher?

What about the children who come from the middle socio-economic group? No generalizations can be drawn, of course. We do know, however, that many of these families are struggling upward in the socio-economic scale. A function of upward striving is severe competition. Comparisons are drawn between "my child" and the child next door. Rigid standards too often are applied to the children. Sometimes the children are forbidden the association of neighbor children and are compelled to seek their friends from class lines. "We don't play with boys like



him. He isn't our kind!" "Why can't you get high marks like Jane?" "Why aren't you in the glee club?" "You must occupy the first chair in the orchestra." "Are you sure you want to take Sally to the party?" are frequent reminders to the child that the heavy hand of adult ambition is bearing down. These youngsters need a friend who helps them feel right about themselves, their feelings, and their actions; who leads them to examine these feelings realistically, and who supports them

in their yearnings toward fulfillment. These youngsters need someone who helps them know that excelling in all things is not really important.

Suppose we look at that part of the community where over fifty per cent of the public school children live, the so-called "lower classes." If the community is an urban one, many of these children grow up on the street; they see life in all its aspects lived before them fully and unabashed. They learn to avoid the staggering footsteps of the drunk, to dodge the fist raised in anger, to snatch food and eat it on the run. Dark doorways suggest the hidden purposes of perverted spirits, and a cop is spotted a block away and adroitly avoided. Street children learn much of anger, hate, fear. Many, of course, learn much of earthy warmth and uninhibited joy and fun, but many of them are neglected physically as well as psychologically. Growing up is a rugged enterprise for these children. They, too, need help. They need an adult friend to keep them from getting into trouble

and to help them understand the neglect of the adult community.

School a Place for Friendly Relations. We have tried to picture some of the circumstances that deform children no matter where they live or what their socio-economic status may be. The children we have pictured are the ones who, for the most part, cannot look to their parents for help. Even those children loved and cared for by their parents need to have some adult friend outside the home. They need someone to whom they can go when the closeness of a parent may be a liability to communication. Most of us find it easier to talk about those things that are highly charged emotionally to an individual who is not involved in the situation. Adults go to a psychiatrist and spend huge sums to talk out problems they cannot talk about with those who are close to them.

This kind of clarification is an acute need of the adolescent. His developmental pattern causes him to seek independence from his parents. His feelings are ambivalent. He is insecure, unsure of himself—much more so than he can afford to reveal. He dare not admit his unsureness by turning to his parents. An understanding adult friend at this time helps much.

All of us need to be needed. We need to be liked just for ourselves. Most children have many adults in their lives who are doing *for* them. All children need adults who are doing *with* them. All children need adults who seek to be friends, who allow the child to do good for himself.

The teacher with her professional training is in an ideal position to be to a child the kind of friend who is able to teach him by example the significance of liking people for their own selves. We can be quite sure, if the teacher is a real friend to the child, children are likely to be more friendly to each other. The gang stage is necessary for a child's growth, yet it is difficult to have respectable gangs in our culture. The wise teacher helps children carry on those social activities necessary for maturing. He guides the maturing activities into constructive channels.

If gangs are respected, the child doesn't have to carry on secretive activities. The underhanded manner in which gangs have to be carried on is the cause of much of the trouble that we associate



with gangs. Younger boys get "taken in" and exploited by older groups and these are in turn used by the adult underworld. Many who work with delinquents say they have never known a delinquent who had even one strong, decent adult friend. This is an uncomfortable thought for those of us who teach.

Friendliness results in friends. Recently, an acquaintance was heard to remark to a teacher whom he had observed, "You seem to have so many friends in this school." Lightly the teacher replied, "Yes, I like people—all kinds of people." This teacher in her daily living was demonstrating the value of friendliness. The teachers on her floor always took time to exchange a word with her; boys and girls whom she had taught came back to tell her their joys and sorrows and brought their younger brothers and sisters to see her. She had discovered the joy of friendliness and others discovered that her capacity to be a friend was limitless.

A fourteen-year-old expressed his appreciation of one teacher who had been a friend to him in these dramatic terms: "Well, there are not many things that teachers do that I like as I do not like any teachers. They have no heart. They just think of themselves . . . and they don't listen. They think they know it all but they are 'dumb rats.' But I do like one or two teachers and I think they are swell. I trust one more than I do my own friends. And when she tells me something, it is always to help me and I always go right on listening to her and now I am glad I do because I thought they were all no good but I found that this particular teacher is wonderful. I would go out of my way to help her and I wouldn't dare show the least bit of disrespect to her."



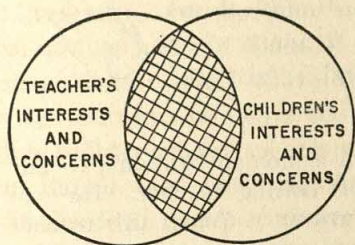
Challenging each child to learn

The teacher's distinctive role in the child's life is to challenge him to learn. Learning occurs when there is an overlapping of interests and concerns. As *The Prophet* has said so beautifully:

No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of your knowledge.⁸

⁸ Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923), p. 64.

Necessity for overlapping interests. It is doubtful if a teacher teaches a child anything except that in which he is interested and about which he is concerned. Like interlocking circles, the overlap is the significant part, for that is where learning occurs. We picture this as follows:



Shaded part represents overlap of interest and concern and possesses the most dynamic quality for learning.

The teacher's personal and vital interest forms a bond of friendship and confidence with the children that helps to develop a feeling of togetherness on an important project. And so he must exercise some caution in imposing his own enthusiasms upon people for whom they may not be appropriate.

One teacher in a small town found herself assigned to teach sixth grade although she was trained to teach shorthand in the high school. She came home at the end of the first week and wept on the shoulder of her dad who was a professor of education in the college from which she had received her training. "What will I teach them?" she wailed. "Why not teach them shorthand?" queried her father. She dismissed his suggestion as facetious until she was faced with the class the next Monday morning. In desperation she began to explore with them the ideas of writing in a code for purposes of speed and for reasons of strategy. The children were fascinated. They learned some shorthand which she was able to make fun and exciting for them. They went on from shorthand to study the many ancient codes and present-day methods of coding. They had fun devising codes to use for note-taking. The teacher discovered much to her surprise that she liked sixth grade youngsters and they liked her, that there was much which they could learn together. This sixth grade and their teacher had a fine time together discovering and extending the overlap in their interests.

Sensing the Productive Moment. Great teachers realize that there are "teachable moments" and they seem to sense when these moments are going to occur. They also cause them to happen. The sensing process is not one that necessarily occurs on the con-

scious level, but the sensitive teacher tries to be on hand when the time is right for an insight to hatch. He sees the hand go up that has never shot up before. He manages a teaming up of personalities to help draw out the little one who has learned to distrust his own common sense. He senses the moment when a comment may be telling and when it is just nagging. The movie, *Mandy*, shows a teacher discovering a deaf child at a moment when she first wanted to make sounds and sensed the vocalizing process.



One teacher waited ten weeks for such a moment to come to one of her boys. Jimmy was a case for the visiting teacher. He had been a problem to the school since he was ten. When this teacher made his acquaintance he was thirteen and was playing hookey regularly from school. He was partially deaf but had a keen sense of rhythm. The class played creatively many stories, poems, situations.

Together they decided it would be fun to imagine a German market scene in which to play "The Pied Piper of Hamelin." The children had a great time developing different types of personalities for the merchants and the daily customers. They played, discussed, and it was time to play again. Up went Jimmy's hand. He had sat silent, sometimes morose for ten weeks. Now he volunteered to play a German merchant selling dill pickles out of a barrel. He played the role with originality and verve. The children were stirred. They, too, recognized that something was happening to Jimmy. From that day on Jimmy didn't miss a class and he had a great time finding his own belongingness with this group of children. A few years later he went away to war. One day he came back on leave and he looked up his teacher to thank her for what she had done for him. She had done nothing but wait for the moment when Jimmy was ready to respond to something that had meaning for him. One of the real thrills of teaching is finding "just the right" time for learning. Then teaching has zest to it.

One of the ways in which a teacher develops the sensitivity for capturing the productive moment is to be sure that his focus is on what happens to the children rather than what happens to his lesson. The child is our product, not whether or not the spelling words come out one hundred per cent, or whether or not the child is reading two grades ahead of the national norms.

Allowing Children to Make Mistakes. We must allow children to make mistakes if they are to be enthusiastic about learning.

Much must be discovered for oneself if the learning is to get inside the viscera. Laughing at mistakes or ridiculing before one's friends can snuff out in a few seconds the joy of discovery. As mistakes are made, the teacher helps the group find ways of coming closer to realizing the purposes it is seeking.



We must keep learning alive, zestful. School should be fun. Childhood is the time of adventure, of wide-eyed speculation, of activity. Teachers must help keep it that way. Our Puritan ancestors felt all "good" things must be painful. We still have some of this attitude in our make-up. Some teachers feel it is necessary to give an explanation to the principal if he finds the group having a hearty laugh or highly excited about an undertaking. We can't keep youngsters immobilized and expect them to have fun. They must be active. The teacher must see to it that lots of fun, good humor, high moments are included in each day's activities.

Role of teacher as advocate of children

Children have no votes and little money. They can exercise little direct influence upon their neighborhoods. They require advocates in this complex society that makes its decisions through pressure. The teacher is an agent to see that children get a fair deal. He knows their needs. One of the teacher's roles is to look over the community to see if the necessities for child growth are present. And if they are not, he must present the facts, prick the conscience of the community until they are provided.

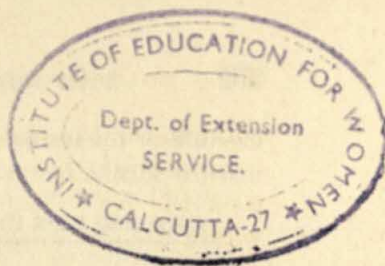
One large school in New York City has been active for twenty years in improving the community for the children and youth of that neighborhood. They induced the Sanitation Department to pick up the garbage more frequently. They converted vacant lots into playgrounds. The owner of the candy store across the street is affectionately known as the assistant to the principal. The high school students made a survey of safety and fire violations and through the help of the teachers have been able to secure some improvements in housing conditions.

Another illustration of teachers' serving as the agents of children were the activities of the staff of an elementary school in St. Louis. During the depression over seventy per cent of the

children came to school without breakfast. The teachers decided a warm breakfast was essential. They took turns coming early to cook the hot cereal. They enlisted cooperation from groups within the city to secure needed food and clothing. This same staff is continuously watching for opportunities to help children have better living. They have encouraged children to make small gardens. They have utilized the hobby resources of the neighborhood to enrich the school program.

If all of us who teach were to accept this role, we could do much to arrange and expedite circumstances for good living in the classroom, in the school, and in the neighborhood.

In this chapter we have tried to say that the most significant aspect of a child's life is the friendly concern of grown-ups who are interested and competent in matters of concern to the child. In a democratic culture these adults associate with children as more experienced equals. Every delinquent is the product of the failure of at least a score of adults, *only two* of whom are his parents; the others are teachers and neighbors. The same statement may be made for that twenty to thirty per cent of the school population whom teachers count as maladjusted. A country cannot long function as a strong, healthy member of the society of nations with the staggering rates of delinquency and mental illness that are now carried in our country. The teachers of America must be concerned lest parents of the next generation make their children in their own image.



The functioning of leadership

DURING the remainder of this century the quality of leadership available to us and chosen by us may be the weight that tips the scales toward or away from our people living in freedom, experiencing a full measure of human dignity. We believe the schools will make a crucial difference in the direction of this tip. In the chapter, "Change as Continuous Creation," we stated that many of our values and attitudes have not kept pace with the changes that modern, industrial life requires—that while our methods of production and other technological advances have made cooperative endeavor necessary, we still educate children extensively in methods of contention. Many current conceptions of leadership, and therefore many of the concepts we are teaching our children, are not compatible with the goals of a democratic civilization in mid-twentieth century.

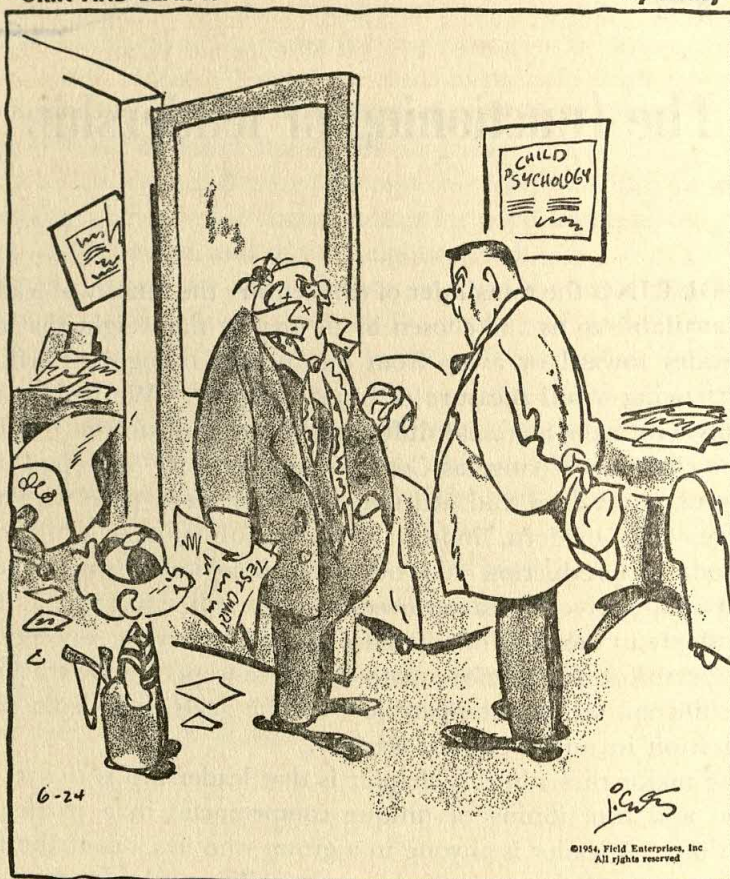
The major thesis in this chapter is that leadership is the recognition and functioning of unique competencies in a particular situation. A leader is anyone in a group who has a contribution to make toward the goals of the group. Thus a leader must be an active member of the group. He is a responsible, respected worker who has a job that needs to be done.

This concept of leadership says to the teacher that he must be willing to step down from his psychological platform at the front of the room and take a place among his fellow group members. It says to the supervisor or administrator that he has to believe that the classroom teacher is the most competent judge of what is appropriate learning for his children, and then find ways to assist the teacher with his task and expedite his work. It says to the children that we expect them to be responsible human beings

capable of operating on their level of maturity that we, as more mature adults, seek continuously to raise.

GRIN AND BEAR IT

By Lichty



"It's worse than you thought! . . . not only is he a problem child but he exhibits qualities of leadership! . . ."

By permission George Lichty and the Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

We once knew a principal, assigned to a new school, who sought to work with children and staff to develop a feeling for democratic leadership. We share with our readers some of his comments after a few weeks of work.

We are well started at Bancroft. The staff is fine—stronger than I had thought. The teachers meet as a group every Tuesday for planning which involves all of us. They keep

records of the problems, plans, and growth of the group. Two of the group take the leadership for agendas and minutes. On another day the staff meets in small groups of threes or fours to develop activities and team work. Of course, we have so much stuff going on and so many other responsibilities that we have "to hump" to get it all done but we are off to a good start. Not all of the boxes of materials are unpacked yet but the community has been wonderful about pitching in to help.

The staff is adjusting to me better than I could have hoped for. They have almost stopped asking my permission and are going ahead on their own judgments. We didn't prepare any directives for the opening of school and so far haven't needed any.

We have no tardy bells or light signals. The kids seem to respect the idea and so far very few have taken unfair advantage of the flexibility. The class starts when the kids get there. The youngsters who come to school early assemble in the school yard and Milt leads them in group singing, and do they love that!

We have several desks in what was meant to be the principal's office. We call it the workroom. It looks terrible most of the time but we find we communicate pretty well. We are developing job assignments as different tasks come up. I think as we get better acquainted and live together our working arrangements will smooth out and we will be more effective and less wasteful of time in our "gab" sessions.

Here is a man who finds it possible to include himself in the group, who senses that continuous, face-to-face communication is necessary, who understands that working with others is primarily a matter of human relations, who recognizes that schools were made for youngsters to live in and enjoy, who is willing to take the time necessary to establish understandings, to develop rapport, and to foster the cooperative working-out of specific job assignments.

Contrast this concept of leadership to some of the other concepts that operate in our society, ideas that we have accepted uncritically because they are so much a part of our heritage. We find much of commanding, "status-izing," executing, and patronizing as well as much of integrating, releasing, and teamwork.

"Poppa" Knows Best

Many people are more comfortable having other people make their decisions for them. This is deep-seated in our feelings. We have not outgrown our early childhood dependency relationships. For centuries our ancestors believed in the divine right of kings. Much of the religious dogma of the Middle Ages was built on the concept of a stern father who was ready to punish swiftly and with vengeance any deviator from absolute obedience. Only in the last few seconds of recorded time have we denied the special privilege of a ruling class, the authority of money or of birth.



Poppa

We have many "poppas" in leadership positions and each poppa is able to succeed only because so many people are willing to let him do their thinking for them. Poppa may be the ward politician who sees to it that his constituents have jobs. On a national scale, poppa sometimes is recognized by "Hail Il Duce," or "Heil Hitler." Poppa may be the head of a firm who treats his employees well, giving them fine working conditions and good salaries, but denying them the right to organize. Poppa may be the fountain-head of a religious group—"Our pastor can do no wrong."

The administrator of a school or the teacher in a classroom who speaks of "my staff, my school, my children" is likely to look upon himself as poppa. In a school system headed by poppa, he makes the school budget, selects the textbooks, decides what materials are needed in the classrooms, hands out extra-curricular assignments, selects incoming personnel, decides on appropriateness of curriculum, calls the meetings, and sets the agendas. He may appoint committees, but he reserves veto power. School systems headed by this type of leader usually develop staffs with a small clique close to poppa. The remainder of the staff is likely to be about equally divided among the patient, docile, hard-working teachers who have lost the light in their eyes and the dissident, aggressive ones who are seeking desperately to become a part of the controlling clique.

In the classroom poppa may be a tyrant keeping order with an iron hand and a ruler, or a benevolent despot making decisions

with kind and wise regard for children's needs and interests or a charming coercer who asks with sweetness, "Wouldn't you like to do this for Miss Thompson?" Whatever form he takes, poppa is the one who does the thinking for the group. He places Martin in the slow-learning class regardless of how Martin feels about the placement. He does not question his authority to send a child home from school because he isn't wearing a tie. He considers that his job. He is training youth and he knows the way they should be trained. He is "giving" them discipline.

Fortunately, as we have had an opportunity to observe the youth of other countries that accept this authoritarian concept of leadership and as we have understood more deeply how children grow and develop, the poppas are disappearing from the teaching profession. Many of those who remain no longer feel completely comfortable about the infallibility of their superior wisdom.

Keep the Boat from Rocking

In some places and organizations, the prevailing desire is to find for responsible leadership positions individuals who will keep things just as they are. Many suburban communities and older sections of larger cities are struggling with the problem of maintaining the *status quo*. In such places, mayors run on the platform of, "We will keep 'Suburbia' as it is. The zoning laws will be maintained. Business establishments and apartments will be kept out of our fair city." Power struggles in organizations frequently focus on the problem of whether present policies and leadership should be maintained or fresh ideas and new blood should be brought into the organization. Some of us are nostalgic for a return to "normalcy" (that is, past situations). We support those whom we identify as safe, sure bets. The known, the familiar, the tried ways have a great appeal.

In selecting a superintendent of schools, many a school board asks the question, "Is he safe? Will he keep the boat from rocking? We don't want any trouble." The superintendent who is selected because of his proclivity not to change anything in turn selects teachers who won't "upset the apple cart." He makes sure that the teachers selected represent the dominant groups in the community and will be acceptable in their appearance and ways and ideas to these groups. The teachers likewise expect the

children to uphold the traditions of the school, to live by the codes that were established years before, whether they make sense today or not.

Schools that are dominated by this concept of leadership are static. Their teachers and students seldom blaze with new projects. These schools tend to perpetuate the rituals and ceremonies that were originally developed to make the teachers look good. We have known schools in which the selection of a queen, or the giving of a Christmas pageant, or the awarding of an honor has come to be a major event, planned and developed into such perfection that it has lost all of its childlike or youthlike qualities. These affairs are examples of teachers using children for their purposes. The motivation has become inverted—the school is no longer for the children; the children and the school exist to make adults look and feel good. Adults must be eternally wary of using children for their own purposes.

He Gets Things Done

Another concept of leadership is that of getting things done. Most of us have participated in meetings in which statements like this have been made: "Gladys would make an excellent president. She is so efficient. She gets things done and with so much precision. Why, do you remember that tea she managed? Everyone knew exactly what she was to do and everything went off just like clock work." Or, "We're just wasting time with all of this discussion. What's all the floundering around about? Let's have Bob prepare an agenda and present it to us."

Here is a portrait of the executive leader—the major puppeteer who is pulling the strings and deciding the movements of his puppets. This is the one who *ex-e-cutes*. He carries out programs. He sees to it that people do not get in the way. Principals who pride themselves on their executive ability place the greatest value on getting things done, in running a smooth school, in having a clean desk. Halls are cleared three minutes after the bell rings. Every teacher is at his door between classes. The front office knows where every child and every teacher is at every moment during the day.

The executive expects teachers to run their classrooms as he runs the school. A premium is placed on order, routines, stand-

ard procedures. Many people have won fame for their executive abilities. Mussolini got the trains running on time. Ford developed the assembly line for manufacturing automobiles. The question a democracy asks is, "At what price?" This question becomes even more pertinent as we consider the purposes of the schools to learn, to experiment, to release, to be concerned with how people feel about each other, to provide a culture that stimulates critical thinking, discriminating appreciations, and sensitive human relations. In the executive's scheme, no room exists for mistakes. They are inefficient.

We know of a genius of industry who, in his later years, restored his old home town and was so particularly proud of the school that he built that he visited it often. One day he came into the primary room and saw the children busily making a playhouse of orange crates and materials readily at hand. He inquired of the teacher, "You want a playhouse for the children? Why didn't you let me know?" With that he departed. Shortly carpenters appeared, shooed the children aside, and built a sturdy little house. In a few days custom-made furniture appeared, and this genius in other-than-human matters proudly said, "Now, when the children want something like that, let me know. You need not take the children's time for that."

These leadership types are authoritarian. They deny people the experience of thinking through problems, of making decisions, of assuming responsibility. They eliminate the process of experiencing group interaction. They deny the process of change as a dynamic of life. "What was good enough for my dad is good enough for me and my children," say these leaders. They deny the basic human capacity of people to manage themselves. The resources of the staff and of the children are cut off. They place ends above means. They assume that human beings can be regulated, standardized, all squeezed through the same tube and still grow adequately and wholly. These operations seem to make of man a cog with no more individuality than the next and the next and the next.

Authoritarian Concepts

These authoritarian concepts of leadership feed on the authoritarianism found in the raw human personality. They could not

long flourish without the help of the "anonymous man-in-the-crowd on whose support the dictator depends for power."¹ In a comprehensive study carried on for almost five years, the dimen-



sions of the authoritarian personality were drawn by an eminent group of social scientists.² From this study the researchers concluded that about ten per cent of the population of the United States are predominantly authoritarian and that another twenty per cent have strong tendencies in that direction. The bulk of the population cluster around the middle of an authoritarian scale but nearly all of us have some tendencies toward authoritarianism. These tendencies have been de-

scribed as personality factors that are expressed by submissiveness to conventional mores; aggressiveness to other points of view; preoccupation with dichotomies of leader-follower, strong-weak, right-wrong; general hostility toward people; preoccupation with sex deviations with a moral purist position being taken; inclination toward narrow ethnocentric attitudes; inclination toward super-patriotic attitudes.

The authoritarian personality conforms to conventional mores, not because they are logical or sensible, but because he must conform. He feels compulsive; his behavior is irrational. Just as he is compulsive about conforming so he is compulsive about demanding that others conform. In a strong leader he finds one who will give him the security he seeks.

The authoritarian personality is rigid, inflexible. His horizons are limited to that which he has learned as acceptable. All else is threatening. He tends to see situations as black or white, as right or wrong. He finds it difficult to admit that we know little about many subjects and that much which we consider true today may be disproved tomorrow.

To the degree that we are producing authoritarianism in our culture, we are ill, socially and individually. If we are to strengthen democracy, we must find ways to strengthen those

¹ Samuel H. Flowerman, "Portrait of the Authoritarian Personality," *The New York Times Magazine*, April 23, 1950.

² T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

qualities that build for a democratic personality. The public school was established to make democracy possible. We must, therefore, be concerned about the quality of leadership of the teachers of America. If we expect to develop democratic personalities within the young, teachers must utilize democratic methods of leadership. We believe this requires a democratic personality and a visceral understanding of what we mean by democratic leadership.

Democratic Leadership Is Situational

It is imperative in a democracy that teachers of the young operate on the belief that leadership can be developed and participated in by all of us. We now have ample research to indicate that leaders are not born; nor are they individuals who happen—through a combination of environment and heredity—to have a given set of traits that make people turn to them for leadership. From the belief in the divine right of kings comes the hold-over belief in inborn qualities of leadership.

If you change the situation you stand a good chance of changing leadership.³ One situation may require mechanical skills, patience, and perseverance. Another may demand quick decisions, verbal dexterity, and the urge to move ahead rapidly. As long as we place our confidence in the development of separate traits, or even a combination of traits as being necessary for leaders, we fail to use the infinite variety of leadership potential to be found in any group of human beings.

Leaders those who express group norms

Some experimentation⁴ leads us to believe that groups accept as leaders those who tend to see group goals and group needs as the group perceives them, and whom the group sees as ones able to help them reach these goals. Individuals who are reasonably intelligent, sensitive to group norms and group needs, who are flexible, and who establish rapport rather easily with group members are selected by the group for leadership. The farm boy may not sense group needs in a city classroom but on a camping

³ Alvin W. Gouldner, ed., *Studies in Leadership* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 3-49.

⁴ Fritz Redl, "Group Emotion and Leadership," *Psychiatry*, 1942, pp. 576-83.

trip he understands, because of the experiences that he has had, the needs of the group to establish shelter, to prepare food, and to have fun without the resources of a well-organized playground.



The teacher who seeks to develop democratic leadership encourages a wide variety of situations in which group members have opportunities to work out their own leadership skills. Through the way in which living in these situations is guided, more and more boys and girls find the group depending upon them to make suggestions, organize to accomplish objectives, communicate to the group what needs to be done, and propose ways for doing these things.

Leadership changes as situations change

The skills, competencies, and resources needed in each situation must be assessed by the group. These requirements then have to be matched with available resources. One student stated: "I never realized before how handy some boys could really be in making a pot of delicious coffee." This process of matching resources and needs occurs with each new situation. As it goes on, individuals identify what they can do with what needs to be done. They then accept the leadership for carrying through on this part of the total project. The teacher helps the group to think about possibilities that may be overlooked by such questions as, "You remember Peg went to Florida last winter. Do you think she might have some pictures that would help here?" or, "I wonder how Jack feels about that. It might be interesting to find out, since he works in a drug store," or, "Now how are we going to get it fixed so that all of us know what each of us is doing?" These and similar questions are predicated on the belief that each of us is expected to assume leadership as we have something to offer. Leadership in this context becomes a responsibility rather than an honor bestowed upon someone of whom we happen to be especially fond.

Democratic Leadership Is Integrative

An important function of democratic leadership is to integrate the special talents found in a group so as to achieve group goals.

This integrative process may be utilized by anyone in the group. It is not limited to the teacher as status leader. The integrative function of leadership is of peculiar importance because our industrialized technology demands specialization. Special talents are only "good" if used to make a good whole. They do not stand alone as separate pieces. Just a bit of chromium plate may be ever so beautiful and ever so useless until attached to a new model car to give that finishing touch. So a talent for making beautiful charts or rousing speeches may be useless unless it ties in with the purposes of the total group. Knowing how to get the chromium used most effectively requires the kind of integration for which Americans are noted. The integration of social processes to make for better living is an area about which we know far less.

In 1954, an explosion of undetermined origin occurred on the aircraft carrier "Bennington." All thoughts and energies on that ship were integrated toward one purpose—saving as many lives as possible. The teamwork displayed by the men reduced the proportions of the tragedy. This integration was of such high order because the goal was urgent and definite and the competencies of each were known and used to contribute toward saving those who were trapped. All who saw what must be done and did it were exerting leadership. We deplore the fact that too often we require catastrophes to exercise this latent function most skillfully.

When Admiral Byrd lived for a few months alone at the South Pole several years ago, he took with him the visible cooperative efforts of thousands of people. He survived because of the leadership that integrated the special abilities of geologists, meteorologists, engineers, researchers in numerous fields of endeavor. No one person could be isolated as *the leader* in this project. Many leaders were working together as a team to accomplish the goal.

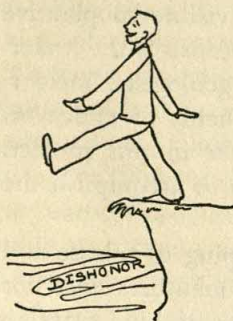
The teacher who sees his role as one of helping to release and to integrate the creative abilities of all group members does not think by himself. He exerts his leadership by seeking ways to stimulate individual members to express their own ideas, to propose their own solutions, and finally to emerge with a common course of action accepted by the group. He looks upon his role as a more mature equal, contributing when he has something

unique to contribute. His role carries with it responsibility shared by all members—not a privilege marking him off from the rest of the group. His leadership is an exercise of competency rather than an exercise of status, and he works continuously to help group members conceive of leadership in this fashion. Personal ambition, patronizing flourishes, petty grievances, or hurt feelings have no place in his concept of leadership. One of his major tasks is teaching these concepts to the young whom he is guiding. He helps the members of the group understand that the genuine leader does not complain about lack of appreciation. He seeks to help the group examine all alternatives in a puzzling situation, thus demonstrating the fallacy of a “one and only” right way. In making such examinations, he understands that any standardized, regimented procedure will probably be hurtful to a great many.

Leader stimulates critical thinking

The leader helps the group make fine discriminations, distinguish between appeasement and constructive compromise, recognize the dynamics of timing, weigh the apparent conflict between individual and group interests, plan in terms of the highest potential resources of the group and so integrate those resources that goals are expanding.

Groups, like individuals, have to decide to what extent their goals can be altered and still retain their integrity. Lines beyond which a group cannot honorably go must be considered with great thoughtfulness if group life is to have stability and if it is to produce the greatest potential among our people. This process is a highly complex one requiring the testing of consequences and consideration of long-term goals. The assumptions upon which courses of action are premised require examination and generalizations have to be pushed back to their specific referents. These thinking processes are difficult for adults to handle effectively. Children and youth need extensive practice in thinking through problems that require this kind of discrimination.



The leader through specific situations helps the group under-

stand that timing is often the factor that determines whether or not a proposal gets a hearing. If we make a proposal in the heat of an argument, it is likely *not* to be heard or if heard to receive so much antagonism that it doesn't stand a chance. We have to train ourselves, and those whom we teach, "to hold our fire" until it helps to temper the group toward its most worthy goals.

Some of the problems facing many high school groups about which youth has the necessity to think are:

Shall we have our senior prom at a distance from the school because there is a good orchestra there, knowing that auto accidents often occur on this night and that the expense will cut out some of the class from participating?

Shall we hold our dance in a place where minority groups represented in our class are not welcome or do not feel comfortable?

How can we manage our social affairs so that we live up to the highest potential of our school, our community, and ourselves?

How shall we spend this amount of money that is available to us?

How can we help new students coming into our school to feel a part of our group?

What can we do to improve our relationships with _____ School?

Democratic Leadership Is Facilitative

Facilitating—helping things move—is a function of democratic leadership. The democratic leader uses his common sense about what things may be done to facilitate group movement without encroaching upon group growth. Probably it makes good sense to set up group rosters, to make arrangements for copies of vital materials to be in the hands of group members without necessarily having a discussion of such matters. Occasionally we get the notion from leaders that to do such menial tasks is not becoming to the leader. We remember a group of supervisors who felt that it was a bit beneath their dignity to be concerned about such mundane matters as seeing that mimeographing was done, that the room was ventilated, that the seating arrangements were conducive to discussion.

Leader facilitates by helping define authority limits

One of the significant facilitating functions is that of helping the group come to an awareness of the limits of its own authority. A group operates within a larger framework that has to be recog-

nized and observed. The Congress of the United States, for instance, has to observe international law as a member of the world of nations. Congress frequently is faced with a crisis over the limits of authority as they operate between the executive and legislative branches of national government. Much useless wrangling and expense could be saved if these lines were more clearly defined in terms of modern governmental operations. The local school board has to observe state and local regulations. Informal groups that are non-legal in structure have limits imposed upon them by the mores of society. Purposes of the group help to set the limits within which functioning is appropriate. Early in the group's life the leader helps the group think through the implicit as well as the explicit boundaries of its authority and its freedom. If such a process has been well done, the veto will seldom be used. The group exercises its own veto or initiates a way to change the authority if it seems unreasonable.

Democratic Leadership Emphasizes Teamwork

Implicit in our description of democratic leadership is the notion that we conceive leadership as a team function. Regardless of the designation of a status leader who may be selected by the group or appointed to work with the group, the leadership resides within the group itself and comes into being through specific jobs that need to be done. At that time teams of members assume the responsibility and in that situation are leaders. We think Lasswell states this idea well: "Our conception of democracy is that of a network of congenial and creative interpersonal relations."⁵ This teaming up to accomplish goals takes place both informally and formally. Perhaps Midge says, "Polly and I will write the letters for the materials." Or the teacher may ask, "Didn't I see you and Bill making a design for our book?" A great deal of the work of a group is carried on in such informal



"You want me to hit it?"

⁵ Harold Dwight Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 10.

ways. Sometimes the group needs to organize more formally. They then decide how to form committees or working groups and what the functions of each will be.

The teacher has the opportunity to develop team leadership in working with the officers of a class. He helps them understand how the four or five of them need to consider their functions as a whole rather than as four or five separate pieces. In discussion groups the teacher encourages the leader, recorder, and observer to operate as a team to help the group accomplish its goals in problem-solving. In action groups the teacher helps the group to see the need to develop teams with special competencies for carrying out plans. If the group is petitioning the P.T.A. to hold a youth forum on family relationships, someone who can express his ideas well is needed, someone who has a sense of humor may make a great contribution, someone who can explain pictorial ideas with ease may be the third member of the team. This makes more sense than the chairman and vice-chairman going to the P.T.A. to present the petition.

Democratic Leadership Not Laissez-Faire

In contrast to authoritarian leadership we have identified four qualities of democratic leadership: that it is situational, integrative, facilitative, and a team operation. Some people confuse democratic and laissez-faire leadership. Let us point out that democratic leadership is an active, directed, dynamic force whereas laissez-faire is a passive, confused, non-productive force. Let us not mistake a do-nothing attitude for democratic leadership. Purposes are clearly defined in a democratic group. In a laissez-faire group, purposes are ill-defined, often contradictory and defeating of each other. Experimentation with groups characterized by laissez-faire, authoritarian, and democratic leadership has shown the laissez-faire group as the least productive and the most highly frustrated, the democratic group the most productive and the least frustrated, and the authoritarian group holding the middle position.

In the remainder of this chapter we discuss the role of the teacher as a democratic leader in the classroom.

Teacher as a Facilitator of Growth

The teacher as the most mature member of the group is looked upon as the status leader. In this role he manages arrangements, environments, circumstances so as to facilitate growth. The pervading purpose in all educational endeavors is that the participants shall grow. The scene-shifting activities of the teacher as he attempts to set the stage for growth are indeed complex.

The teacher tries to arrange circumstances so that the group grows in its ability to maintain its own controls. Purposes are examined to see what controls operate to reach the ends desired. If, for instance, the group wants to take an "overnight," their desire (wanting) causes the group to exercise whatever controls are necessary to go on the overnight. For one boy it may mean giving up movies to pay his expenses; another may find his desire for going makes it tolerable to work with someone he does not like. Each member of the group has to exercise controls peculiar to his own personality. The group as a whole recognizes the controls that are necessary if members have the chance to plan, to consider alternatives, to accept responsibilities, and to carry out plans.

Teacher needs cooperation of supervisor

Sometimes the teacher has a difficult task living with children in a way that he considers to be consistent with democratic purposes. Supervisors are not always sympathetic or do not understand what is taking place as they walk in the room and see children walking around doing various jobs. One teacher describes what she believes is a democratic learning situation and the resistance she encountered in the following account:

This morning I have been criticized negatively by my supervisor because I am permitting "loose discipline" to penetrate my classroom. As she walked in, some children were moving around the room. Others were doing some research on their transportation unit and they were discussing their interests with their friends. Actually each child had a specific assignment and a specific goal. I informed Miss C that my meager teaching experience leads me to believe that this process of educating will ultimately develop self-control, self-direction, and self-reliance; that I was working on the idea that true control and discipline emanate from within the child or

within the group. I told Miss C that I am here to function as a guide to the children and not as a mere instrument for administering authority. I also hope to capitalize on my pupils' aptitudes, attitudes, abilities, and interests. I asked her to look around more carefully and notice that these children are planning, working, thinking, and playing together. This "togetherness" will develop the powers we are seeking. I told her that I hope to guide and stimulate my children to plan, think, reason, judge, evaluate, and express their ideas, opinions, and thoughts. They will criticize and make suggestions. Using this technique in the classroom, I feel that I am not negating my responsibility as a teacher in connection with planning and conducting a learning situation.

We are encouraged to find more and more teachers who have the courage to act upon their own inner convictions and who understand the processes they are using and who are able to enunciate them so well. Once upon a time teachers were ignorant, unskilled, and not very well qualified to teach. Minute direction and supervision made some sense. Today teachers are allegedly well-trained professionals. We believe the classroom teacher knows more about children and what they need to have in their living than anyone knows who visits the classroom occasionally and is acquainted with children in general without knowing any child. We believe democratic leadership requires that we have confidence in the person who is doing the job.

The Teacher Accepts Purposes of Learners

The teacher who is concerned with helping each individual to become his best unique self refrains from imposing his own purposes upon those whom he teaches. Rather, he begins a journey of discovery with each one in his group, helping him become clear as he goes along about what it is that he wants to do with his time and energy, what he needs to do to get where he wishes to go, and how he can go about it.

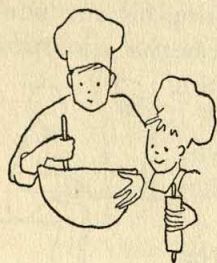


This seems a big order for a teacher who has thirty-five or more children in one group. It is difficult. Fortunately, the purposes of boys and girls are somewhat predictable and somewhat held in common. This enables the teacher to anticipate needs. A teacher of nine-year-olds will

have many possibilities ready to explore with the class if it seems appropriate. The teacher holds them forth as possibilities only. The unique and different purposes of individuals remain to be discovered and taken into account. A child learns his own purposes. These purposes become the content of what he learns. If the teacher does not take them into account, they creep in the back door and may become subverted to hostility that expresses itself in hatred toward school, disregard for authority, cultivation of boredom and indifference.

Recently we heard of a school that had an honor society beginning in the third grade with an elaborate admittance procedure covering a span of months. Admittance did not guarantee continuous membership, as a system of penalties was operative for those who failed to continue to measure up. The purposes of the honor society as conceived by teachers was to teach the value of being a serious student and a loyal, cooperative, and obedient citizen of the school. Yet as the teachers talked, they described the cheating that was going on, the tensions of the teachers as they gallantly tried to see to it that the proper percentage of each class was able to qualify, and the pressures of the parents for what they described as "good marks." The purposes of the adults were being subverted by the children because they did not accept these purposes that did not make sense in children's terms.

We can teach children the appropriate criteria for the selection of leaders only if what is being done is what the youngsters themselves want done. We recall one school that had the custom of enlisting the cooperation of the youngsters in preparing the lunch.



Usually a pot of ingredients for soup was put on the stove before school in the morning and allowed to simmer. A thirteen-year-old was in charge of getting the mixture going on a certain morning and was collecting the ingredients that various children had offered to bring. To one five-year-old he said, "Did you bring the rice?" "Heck, I forgot," replied Sammy. "Well, you get on home and get it," was the reply of the older boy. Responsibility was clearly fixed. The project was of vital importance to the total group. No excuse would provide the rice. The five-year-old walked the half-mile home for the rice without protest.

The Teacher Recognizes Leaders in Children's Terms

We believe it is the function of dynamic adult leadership to recognize those qualities of leadership that children value in each other for their purposes of the here and now. If we do this, we may find a noisy, untidy, highly-skilled-in-motor-activities youngster holding the spotlight among the ten-year-olds whereas the girl with the convertible or the boy with the accessible jalopy may be looked upon as leaders among the teen-agers.

As teachers recognize the leaders that children value, a wider range of competencies becomes available to enrich group living. The boy who can construct a fort is as valuable to the youngsters as the boy who reads three years beyond his grade level. The person who is painstakingly precise is as important as the one who has the big visions. One group of twelve-year-olds found the property man in their show was the crucial leader, for much of the action depended upon this person. He had to coordinate the action of the total cast. Any mistake of his affected the production. The group was quick to recognize this fact and selected for property man someone upon whom they could confidently rely. The person who has the competency for the job that needs to be done is the one valued by the children themselves.

If we accept the leaders valued by youngsters, we refrain from imposing criteria for leadership that are not relevant to the successful handling of the job. Our schools transgress this principle frequently. We insist in some schools that boys who play a good game of football must also have a "passing mark" before they can play, and in taking away their chance to play probably deprive ourselves of our only chance to lead them into an appreciation of the need for other competencies. In some schools we insist that class officers must be honor students, meaning good scholars. Yet much of our research shows that individuals whose intelligence is too far above that of the group as a whole make poor leaders. In imposing irrelevant criteria, we succeed only in alienating the group of young people from the adults to whom we hope they will look for guidance and advice. Scholastic qualifications for student council membership are frequently imposed as adult criteria, and in so doing we weaken the power of the student council. Student council members require a following if their ideas or proposals are to make a difference in school life.

As far as we know there is little correlation between having a following and scholarship in adolescent culture.

Teacher Arranges Environment to Stimulate Maximum Group Intelligence

Two heads are better than one *only* if they are seeking common purposes, common agreements and available avenues for action. The teacher contrives ways to help the group work together so that the intelligence of all members is used. This requires infinite patience, tact, and understanding. People speak from the heart rather than from the tongue only after they have come to trust one another. Trust of the teacher is a very important ingredient in developing trust throughout the group. When people come to trust one another, the attitude of contention diminishes; the members of the group are ready to consider together their common purposes without respect to status-building devices. When trust permeates the group, the primary consideration is not, "*Who* is right?" but "*What* is right?"

The need for trust and knowing one another is expressed in the popular tune "Getting to Know You," from *The King and I*.⁶

Getting to know you
Getting to feel free and easy
When I am with you
Getting to know what to say.

Even as the English school teacher could not really teach the Siamese children until she got to know them, so today we can't teach our Puerto Rican children, our refugees, our Mexican, our Indian, our Asiatic children until we come to know enough about them and their cultures that we can feel free and easy and they can feel free and easy about us. The New York City Board of Education thinks well enough of this idea to underwrite New York City teachers spending some time in Puerto Rico to know better the cultural backgrounds of their Puerto Rican pupils.

He who would be a genuine leader dares not seek to be a great leader. We have been amused and distressed at times to find ourselves in conferences in which those who were sponsoring the

⁶ Copyright 1951 by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd. Williamson Music Inc., New York, owner of publication and allied rights.

conference have announced themselves as "frontier thinkers." Great men never feel great; small men never feel small. Years ago this bit of wisdom was recognized in the Christian religion in the admonition: "He who would be the greatest among you, let him be the servant of all." In the ways he works with the group, the teacher exemplifies this concept and he helps to make it explicit for those he teaches. He does not consider it beneath his dignity to pick up paper, to wash the boards or a neglected child, or to cleanse a bloody knee. These acts of thoughtfulness and of love do so much more in teaching attitudes of leadership than volumes of words.



"Let me help you!"

Group intelligence uses scientific method

Another way in which the teacher arranges to use group intelligence is by seeking to keep the level of group action rooted in the scientific method. This requires us to go beyond what we believe to what we know, to be willing to look at evidence. It means at times deliberate attempts to prevent provocations that lead to outbursts of temper, name-calling, and wild accusations. If these do occur, however, the teacher has to be ready to handle them—not just to ignore or forbid such displays. We think there are times when "blowing one's top" is healthy and the teacher understands that, but he helps the group recognize that this is not the way to solve problems or to achieve common purposes.

Face-saving—fight-saving

The teacher helps youngsters to save face. The Orientals, who are an older civilization and probably more subtle in their human relations, consider this a necessary part of their responses to others. We like the phrase that one hearty lad made through a slip of the tongue: Face-saving—Fight-saving.

Embarrassing mistakes, impulsive action that results in a child looking silly, or imprudent promises that cannot be fulfilled are common occurrences in classrooms. The teacher who is sensitive and who has a fine sense of timing saves many a child's pride and self-respect by accepting the face-saving devices offered at such moments. We are thinking of the generous ten-year-old who

offered her home for a class party only to have to withdraw her invitation the next day because her mother did not want the class. The sensitive teacher might have avoided the need for saving face by suggesting when the invitation was extended that perhaps the child would want to talk with her mother before the class made its plans. Not having done this, the teacher helps the child save face with the class at the time the invitation is withdrawn. Frequently a light-hearted remark is all that is needed to break the tenseness.

One of our associates recalled thirty years later the deep humiliation she felt over mispronouncing the word striped when giving a current event in class about a formal occasion when the gentlemen wore striped trousers. The "unkindest cut of all" was the lustiness with which the teacher joined in the gales of laughter. Face-saving is not only fight-saving; it is respect-saving.

Selection of leaders

A major operation of group intelligence is to train children in using leadership. Our young ones learn how to select appropriate leaders by having the chance to think about, to discuss, and actually to select leaders and then have to live with the ones they have chosen. Again the criteria of appropriateness applies. Some of the questions that we raise with children in helping them in their considerations are:

What are the responsibilities of this position?

What will the individual who is selected for this job have to be able to do?

Do we feel comfortable about selecting someone for the position with the amount of information that we have or do we need to know more before we make our selection?

Does this position require teamwork? If so, what is necessary to be able to work with others in a productive way?

Does this position require someone who can assume authority without its going to his head?

What kind of service does this position require?



Discussion in the classroom about the ones we elect to represent us is the beginning of the discriminating followership we need so desperately today. Our goal is to help these youngsters see that we are responsible for our leaders and that they are ac-

countable to us. We believe if we had been better trained in this use of group intelligence, we would be less ready to appoint football coaches to principalships, successful industrialists to boards of education, and muscle men to posts requiring a knowledge of social problems, unless these individuals qualify in terms of the competencies needed for the positions. Leaders in a democracy must be drawn from the community at large, not just a small segment of it that happens to be more articulate than the rest. A measure of the social health in a democracy is the breadth of participation in the local community. In many communities today it is far too narrow for safety. To assure this quality of leadership a group dares not accord the leader special privileges nor advantages.

The Teacher Seeks Decisions by Consensus

Helping the group learn the skills of arriving at consensus is a major role of the teacher as a democratic classroom leader. The teacher helps the pupils understand the importance of hearing all concerned parties, of weighing the strong enthusiasms and marked dissents and of taking into account the thinking of others who may be more moderate in expressing their ideas. The teacher helps the group become sensitive to the relatedness between a majority and a minority within a group. Pupils are taught to consider carefully the reasons for dissent and possible consequences are weighed as the group moves toward making a decision. A democratic group seldom votes. The teacher helps boys and girls to understand that voting tends to split groups and that it is harder to change one's mind after taking a formal position on the matter. Decisions are talked through in terms of what consequences this will have on all of us and what seems most feasible for most of us in the long run. The group arrives at agreements by examining the areas of common consent first and then taking up those remaining parts about which there is a difference of opinion.

The Teacher Seeks to Develop Socially Intelligent People

As a democratic leader the teacher has an unexcelled opportunity to make a difference in the lives of children by the way in which he teaches. We cherish teachers who conceive a socially intelligent person to be one who is disposed to the ways of co-operation; who judges the appropriateness of his own actions by

the criterion of the "greatest good for the greatest number for the longest period of time." We seek for our children teachers who are motivated by an active sense of personal responsibility for the well-being of mankind; who are actively seeking ways to help children experience ever-widening opportunities to be genuinely valuable to other people.

We need teachers who are disposed to act in accord with foresight of human outcomes and who are skilled in leading children to exercise foresight, who sense the essential goodness of free personalities, and who contrive to find ways for man to enrich his own and his brother's living.

We earnestly believe that man has only begun to taste the fulness of living and that teachers who seek these qualities can reshape the dimensions of our world.

15

Processes of leadership in teaching

"I'M TIRED of this newer way of teaching where you sit and listen all the time," said a young teacher. Yes, it is tiresome for most of us to sit and listen. Yet creative listening is an important part of effective leadership. We shall analyze in this chapter some of these important processes as they occur in teaching and shall suggest a few techniques that have proved helpful to those attempting to lead classes in a democratic process of learning.

Leader Accepts Feelings of Group

One individual in evaluating a class experience had this to say, "A lot of the comments made by the group were just hot air expounded by persons who liked the sound of their own voices, yet never understood the context of the sounds when they were put together." Had the teacher sensed this as a feeling of one or many in the group, he could have taken steps to find out the reasons for this person's rejection of "a lot of comments." Since the feeling was either ignored or unknown by the teacher, this individual left the class feeling frustrated and resentful toward members of the group. An opportunity for learning was lost.



Recognizing expected behavior

The teacher accepts the feelings of the group by knowing, understanding, and being sensitive to human beings. He needs more than his own sensitivity to succeed in this difficult process. He

needs to recognize expected behavior for certain ages and become skillful in interpreting the meaning of that behavior. Hostility from boys toward girls during pre-adolescence is to be expected and does not disturb the teacher unless it becomes punitive. Overt aggressive behavior toward adults characterizes the early teen-agers and causes no alarm unless it leads to acts completely unacceptable to society. An adult group that giggled as much as the normal thirteen-year-old would be considered maniac. This is to say we must focus our efforts on sensitivity to group feelings so that we recognize much behavior as a transitory function of the age to be outgrown unless stamped in by adult pressure.

Some adult groups stunt their own growth by becoming so preoccupied with their own feelings that it is impossible to move beyond the early exploratory stages to that of focusing on group goals. The compulsiveness of these groups to examine and analyze their feelings may be an expression of adolescent group behavior just as excessive giggling is a manifestation of adolescent individual behavior.

Handling group tensions

The teacher accepts feelings of the group and works with them constructively. This requires the quality of being hurt-proof and shock-proof. Unless the teacher treats display of feelings as a matter-of-fact happening, they will not be brought out in the open. Emotional outbursts, while not a daily occurrence, are to be expected when thirty or more people try to live together in limited space. The teacher must be ready to accept temper outbursts and to work with the feelings involved. We know now that the child who can release his feelings through overt behavior is more healthy than the one who keeps them bottled up.



Ada who sits slumped in her seat, unresponding to those around her, is in more need of help than Jane who "blows her top." Ada is probably more difficult to reach. We increase her hostility by either asking her to sit up straight and get busy or ignoring her completely. The sensitive teacher finds a chance to speak personally to Ada. He may reflect Ada's feelings to her by a remark something like this, "You're worried about something today, aren't

you, Ada?" In some way he lets Ada know that he understands that she is having some feelings that disturb her and seeks a chance to help her express these feelings so they can be drained off by whatever means seem appropriate.

Imagine the tensions that were developing in Randy whom a kindergarten teacher heard make these remarks over several days' time:

"When you are playing cowboys, be sure you don't hit a table."

"When you are playing with guns, be careful you don't point them at anyone."

"When you are riding a horse, be careful that you don't get kicked."

"When you are playing a piano, be sure you have the right notes."

"When you are playing with clay, be sure your fingernails don't get any in them."

"When you are sawing, be careful you don't cut your fingers."

As this teacher responded to Randy, her perceptions of his fears made it easier for him to verbalize his tensions and together they could find ways to work with them. Our goal in a democratic atmosphere is to make it easy for children to release their feelings and use them for constructive group purposes. Some of the questions a teacher may ask himself are:

Is it possible for children to get angry and still feel accepted by me and by the group?

Do I know ways to help an angry child to release his feelings without hurting others?

Some teachers have found punching bags useful for small children. Working in clay, finger-painting, water play, rhythms, acting out feelings are means for expressing much that cannot be put into words. Activities involving vigorous use of the body are effective especially for young children.

Can I accept the anger or rejection of children without feeling rejected or angry myself?

How many times a day do I say, "You may not . . . You are not supposed to . . . Don't you dare do that . . . I don't know why I waste time on you!"

How many fancy ways have I or my school worked out for rejecting a child?

We are reminded of visiting a class of thirteen-year-olds who had been scheduled into one class because of their low I.Q. To com-

plicate the situation, this class was composed of all boys, although the rest of the school had mixed classes. These boys, many of whom were over-age, revealed their sense of rejection by asking these questions in a discussion we had with them:

"Did you visit this class because we are the dumb-bells?"

"Why can't we have girls in our class?"

"Why can't we have more movies like the rest of the school?"

"Why do they shove all the old books off on us?"

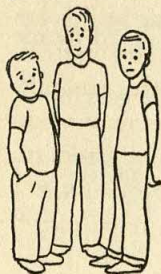
"Why can't we have good spelling books?"

In another situation a visit was made to a class having only two Negro boys. One boy came up to the visitor leading the other Negro boy by the hand and announced, "This is the other one." Time spent with the group spelled out the rejection felt by these boys by being *other*.

Accepting differences

Another aid to the teacher-leader is an understanding that differences in a group create feelings that may be uncomfortable for the individual and the group as a whole. In almost any classroom we find differences in size, in dress, in speech, in temperament. In many classrooms we find differences in skin colors and in religious beliefs. We believe a serious threat to our democracy is the inclination of groups to insist upon uniform patterns of behavior. Group pressure can be damaging to individual personalities as well as a powerful force for constructive efforts.

We recall, for instance, a student who denied herself the opportunity to accept a promising scholarship for study in another country because her own community group interpreted her desire to leave as an act of disloyalty. Families sometimes constrict opportunities for growth of some of their members by insisting that all remain close to the nest. Sad indeed is the adult who cannot leave the parental roost even if job opportunities open up in other places or interest is awakened in other situations.



The fat girl, the undersized boy, the studious teen-ager, the class clown, the mild stutterer, the one Catholic or Jew or Seventh-Day Adventist or Baptist, the boy with the quick temper, or the Negro youth may easily become an isolate or fringer (one who is on the edge) in the group structure unless the teacher consciously seeks ways to develop appreciations of how differences enrich group living.

Talking about differences means little unless accompanied by living experiences designed to appreciate the value of differences. Unless skillfully done, talk alone may increase the group demand for conformity. Differences have to be incorporated into the living of the group on an experience level. The teacher's real, honest-to-goodness respect for the individual communicates itself to the group in structured and unstructured situations alike. Without this ingredient, any techniques used—whatever they may be—fall flat; children and youth sense genuine feelings. Given a genuine feeling of respect for human dignity, we have many ways to help groups accept differences of their individual members. What each one can contribute because of his difference is one approach used successfully by many. This results in a broad program that has room for diversity. It makes impossible the setting of *one* standard for all and necessitates questioning the use of standardized procedures and materials. This approach assumes that a wide range of abilities is neither good nor bad. It just is—now let's see how we can use whatever range and diversity there is. If we accept this assumption, we will not expect the undersized boy to play football nor do we consider him less valuable because he cannot. Nor do we expect all ten-year-olds to read equally well from the same reader or attach any value judgment to the quality of reading.

Another approach is that of helping the fringers build an identity with other individuals like themselves. In using this approach, we must examine our hearts to be sure we are not unconsciously assuming an air of condescension. We may wish to note Negro Week, to include Hanukkah at Christmas time, to become familiar with the historical development of various racial, ethnic, religious, and occupational groups in order to have more pride in belonging to a certain group. Let's always remember, however, that first of all we are human beings and have pride in belonging to the human race.

The ways in which we handle the day-by-day happenings as they occur in the lives of the group give us a pervasive approach. Taunting the "bookworm" on the playground, hurling epithets at the "Jew-boy" on the way home from school, ignoring the Negro girl as the class dance is being planned are content problems that the teacher faces—not ignores—with the group. Depending on age, situation, and a number of complex factors that

the teacher assesses, these problems are faced in certain ways as they arise. Reenactment of the situation through role-playing is a technique that yields significant insights. Developing problem stories for role-playing that are related to the situations of the group is another approach. These techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 17.

Discussion group techniques are useful either as warm-ups for role-playing or as methods for exploring ideas. Literature is a means for helping individual class members identify with others who feel different. Finding the right story for a child who is having problems that seem too big for him is one way of establishing communication with that child. *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*¹ and *Learning to Live in 1954—Basic Relationships of Life*² are valuable tools for the teacher in locating the right book.

The subtle ways that one human being has of communicating with another provide a rich source for teaching acceptance of each one, respect and cherishing of differences, and utilization of these differences for rich living. Let us give some rather homely experiences that teachers have related to us. One teacher describes how she felt one day at lunch when she could not finish her second helping:



The enthusiasm had worn off and I couldn't eat all. I experienced consciously the reason or motive for taking an excessive portion and I realized it would be unreasonable to set *one* standard in regard to *all* of the children for *all* of the time and I could then respect their legitimate needs to scrape their plates as I respected my own.

Another teacher says:

Often I find myself whispering to a neighbor or a group—not being able to wait to communicate a feeling or an idea. Sometimes I fail to respond to a group direction. I proceed at my own pace. This insight has helped me to give children more time to respond, to accept the laggards, to understand

¹ American Council on Education, *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*, Revised Edition (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1950).

² National Education Association, *Learning to Live in 1954—Basic Relationships of Life—a Booklist for Children and Young People* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1954).

those that take longer to break away from one occupation in which they have been absorbed. I have become more flexible and in so doing I do not create as many anxieties in children.

Another describes her efforts to recognize differences in these terms:

As I teach I have to be able to relate to the child who tightens up, avoids creative expression, produces tight, unimaginative results; the child who covers up his work, fussed, frowning, and threatening to destroy it; the child who is overweight, keeps her well-starched, frilly dresses clean, is afraid to run, climb, lest she might hurt or dirty herself; the child who initiates play activities, tries new stunts, takes risks, falls, scrapes her knee, and meets new challenges in stride; the child who is cranky, cross, impatient with herself and others; the one who clings to mother, sucks his thumb, and always carries a stuffed bunny around; the one who welcomes a newcomer with zest, enjoys activity and laughs, sings, and plays with glee. To accommodate all these differences and to try to unite them into common goals is a task worthy of the most skilled.

One teacher describes the way in which she adapted reading to individual differences by providing a variety of books for children to read:

I gave up group reading for about a month as I weaned the children away from the textbooks. I found story books suitable for various interests and reading abilities. The children with minimum help, but with encouragement to pick the books that each could read comfortably, read a great deal. The beginner would come to me enthusiastically to say, "I didn't know bears ate ants," and read to me the information from the book. In this way the idea came that further interest could be stimulated and that their individual reading could be more social if we got together and those who wished brought their favorite books and read or told about their favorite parts. No one is ashamed of his reading ability and everyone contributes. The most mature readers read a simple poem or story book discovered, enjoyed, and shared by the slower reader. It is not uncommon to hear the mature reader asking the beginner about the name of the book that had the story about the bear so that he can read it, too.

Our attempts to relate to the ones who are somewhat on the fringe of the group are often clumsy. Sometimes we try so hard

to pull them in that we succeed in deepening feelings of hostility and rejection. We make the individual feel it is wrong to be different and the group feel guilty for rejecting the difference. Usually guilt feelings cause further frustration that in turn leads to more aggressive behavior. Instead of pushing the "odd one" out or trying to pull him in, we suggest attempting to look with his perceptions so that we may better understand the contributions he has to offer. Historically, the fringers of society have had much to offer. Their slightly askew way of looking at the situation may be the yeast needed to ferment the group for greater growth, more creative solutions. As we work with groups, we seek to interpret the position of the fringer as well as the fringer himself. We avoid using any manipulative devices to push people around. Rather, we secure additional interpretative materials about the fringer so that respect for the individual may be heightened.

Understanding Blocking Techniques

One method available to group members to work out their private frustrations is to block group action and group productivity. The teacher who operates in a permissive atmosphere can expect the blocking of members to come out in the open. This gives the teacher a chance to recognize the motivation for blocking and help the individual understand his own motivation. Blocking is not limited to children. Some teachers use an appeal to pride in what we have always done as a way to stall untried ideas. "We have always had our school picnic at Saginaw Road Pond. We have had a good time there. Why should we change this year?" Teachers sometimes use this appeal with pupils who have ideas about wanting to work out new codes, new programs, new schedules. This kind of appeal usually indicates a feeling of threat in the proposed change. The threat may be lessened if all recognize the source of the opposition, and if causes for the proposal are considered carefully.

Then we have the "yes-but" technique. "This is a good proposal," speaks the blocker, "but we haven't considered . . ." Or, "I go along with this idea if it means that . . ." The part following the "that" often is a statement of the idea in terms different from the original proposal. Some blockers seek to rally support

by assuming to be the voice of the group. These phrases have a familiar ring to us, "I am sure I speak for the group . . . Most of us do not understand . . . We believe in this school that . . ." Still another blocking device is using highly charged words: "We have pinched and squirmed and contrived . . . This is like cutting the flesh from our bones . . . Do we need to junk all of the old and start forth on untried paths after the hard, arduous work, the countless hours spent in penetrating analysis of our problem? Is this a debating society or can the committee take action?"



"I know I speak for the group . . ."

One of the most effective blocking devices is to call for a definition of terms. This device is used frequently when discussing subjects that carry many abstract meanings such as: democracy, patriotism, loyalty, citizenship, spiritual values, curriculum. Many are the hours that educators have lost quibbling over definitions of terms. Stating working definitions to be accepted for purposes of this discussion is a way of avoiding this blocking device. In a discussion of retarded children, these definitions were serving to raise the level of confusion. "A retarded child is one lacking interest. A retarded child won't exert effort. A retarded child has low I.Q. A retarded child is lazy; he won't do his work. A retarded child is one the teachers haven't reached." No constructive discussion could ensue so long as five definitions were being used to describe what was being talked about. Much clarity would have been brought to the discussion by establishing a working definition and then operating within that definition.

Some people seek to block by withdrawal. They remain silent until the group becomes aware of and feels guilty about their disapproval. The sense of guilt often causes a group to "bend over backwards" to bring the withdrawing member back into the fold. In this manner the withdrawn one is controlling the group. Other blocking devices are suggesting alternative proposals that are irrelevant, appointing a committee to study the situation, and labelling through humor the proponents or opponents of a proposal in slightly ludicrous terms. These devices furnish content for learning. Sometimes they may be handled by subtle means, by using humor to offset the intended response; other times they must be brought out in the open and looked at directly. The

teacher seeks to help the group become aware of these processes and the motivations underlying them as they occur so that means for working with them may be devised by group members.

Sensing Needs of Group

A second purpose of the leader-teacher is to help the group sense its own needs. Establishing common assumptions and common ground rules is one way of looking at needs. As these are analyzed, an awareness takes place of individual needs and the ways in which they may be built into a bridge reaching to common goals.

People are important

Taking time for individuals to talk about themselves is important. As the class meets for the first time, if the group is approaching adolescence, introductions help to bring out concerns, characteristics, and temperaments. These introductions may be carried on as interviews so that the shy ones do not feel on the spot. One student expresses his feelings about the value of introductions and shows insight in the following statement:

The most significant experience for many of us, I'm sure was the first day of the term. The day of introductions—it was a revelation—a revelation of how a teacher can stimulate a class to talk individually about personal things. Of course, the success of that day was furthered by many “dynamic” personalities in our class. They probably are in every class.

Several days may be consumed with the primary purpose being that of getting a beginning acquaintance with one another. The teacher's comments of appreciation and acceptance and his sharing of some of his own interests and concerns help to develop a climate of warm friendliness. As time is spent in learning about each other, the assumption becomes clear that in this group people are important, that their feelings and interests and ideals are matters for all of us to share to the degree that the individual feels free in sharing. With little children the “show and tell” period serves this purpose.

Planning is a group function

Another ground rule essential for democratic living is that planning is a function of the group. As the group starts working together, decisions are placed in the group. Thus a group of four-year-olds talk about how to share their playthings and work out some ways of settling disputes. Since play is their business, these decisions are of vital concern to them. The children in the primary years develop some acceptable ways of behaving and work out daily plans to include the events which are important to them. The teacher serves as a discussion leader and gives his suggestions as would any other member. He also raises with the group from time to time questions relating to prior decisions, consequences, and alternative suggestions. As planning is done, the teacher helps the group to make explicit the values upon which the group and its individual members operate.

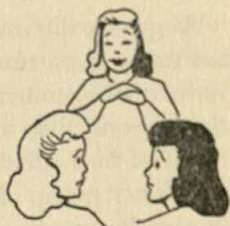
Groups of adolescents or young adults who have not had the opportunity to help plan their own programs often find planning frustrating and a waste of time. The authoritarian concept of leadership has become so stamped in that it is difficult to secure a hearing for any other procedures. One high school youth summarized this feeling in these words:

We were frustrated yesterday because we are used to having the teacher plan out the work and then present it while we passively absorb the "seeds of knowledge" that he drops. Many of us liked the idea of being in on the act but others rebelled.

Another student reports, "I have been let down in my expectations because there has been too much student participation and we have been allowed to wander off our course of study." These attitudes are to be expected and accepted as valid by the teacher. They are recognized as important to be worked with and accepted until additional experiences alter them, if the teacher is to succeed in stimulating growth.

Coming to decisions

The teacher has a leadership function in helping the group learn the skills of decision-making. A part of this process is how



to handle proposals or suggestions that are made. Often a group becomes bogged down with so many proposals that it becomes confused and essentially helpless. The teacher may lead the group in the direction of accepting some ground rules for handling proposals. We have found the following to be helpful but each group, depending on its age, size, and purposes, will want to determine its own ground rules for handling proposals.

Provide some way to record the proposals.

Deal with proposals one at a time.

Examine the meaning of each proposal.

Assess the possible consequences of the proposal in terms of group and individual goals.

Provide some ways for terminating discussion on proposals.

Develop facility in arriving at consensus.

As groups discuss ways of coming to decisions, again the teacher has many opportunities to make explicit the responsibility of the individual member for moving the group toward decisions and the responsibility of the group in being sensitive to the unique needs of individual members. One teacher describes the way in which her group of six-year-olds came to a decision about buying flowers for an absent member:

We did not vote to decide whether we were going to follow the suggestion to contribute money to buy flowers for Liza. I knew that most of the group was enthusiastic about Ellen's suggestion. However, I did ask for objections and two children freely and honestly raised objections with reasons important to them. Then two more came forth. The child who had initiated the idea suggested that some could contribute money for flowers and others could write letters or make something. I respected their ability to work out the problem and realized my feelings for this kind of procedure were helping the group to free itself from the status leader.

One factor that operates in keeping groups from coming to decisions is our tendency to label and refer to ideas as belonging to the person who had them originally. Many groups adopt a ground rule that any approach that is made belongs to the group after it has been laid on the table. In this way it becomes easier to distinguish between ideas and personalities. Our concern is not with *who is right*, but *what is right in this situation*.

Timing a critical factor in needs

The range in timing within a group is frequently very wide and has many complex facets. Some members are able to assess the possibilities and come to a decision in a short span of time while others require laborious explanation and illustration. Timing is related to temperament. The teacher helps the group appreciate the function of appropriate timing by calling attention to it when it occurs. The individual who tells an appropriate funny story at a tense moment teaches the group the function of humor in timing. The person who comes up with a complicated suggestion at the end of a long, arduous meeting also demonstrates negatively the importance of timing.



As the teacher works with groups, he must continuously assess when and how he offers guidance. The way in which members perceive adults determines how often young people would be apt to accept adult suggestions. The problem discussed by the community leader in the following excerpt concerning delinquents' attitudes toward adult ideas is only one of degree in other groups:

In working with delinquents a leader must be able to tell when to initiate a new activity, when to make a suggestion, and when to hold his counsel. In the beginning anti-social groups do not accept suggestions readily from a teacher. You have to get the suggestions to come from them. There are many, many times when you know a plan of theirs will not work out, when a party will not be a success because of their planning and their inability to see flaws in their planning. Yet, sometimes you have to let them meet failure so that they will profit from the learning situation.

One specific function of the leader is to help the very quick child to sense that his timing is ahead of the group and to encourage him to find ways to channel his impatience into constructive channels. Likewise, the teacher has to help guard against leaving out the slow-moving child as decisions are made.

Values an expression of needs

Group standards operate as an expression of values and are built from the needs of group members. The teacher helps group

members understand the way in which individual and group values function in goal attainment. Sometimes the teacher has difficulty in sensing the values of the group because of differences in perception or motivation. A leader in a community center gives this illustration of differing perceptions between the leader and participants:

In any community center it is the policy to have the boys remove their hats. It's only polite that they do so, particularly in a school building. We tried to enforce this rule and it was the bane of our existence. Our evening membership is made up of members of gangs. It is part of their culture to wear hats. Any gang group is identified by the particular hats they wear. A boy will do anything to have a "sharp" hat. No matter how poor his other clothes are, he takes pride in his hat. Our problem was that we did not have a proper place to keep these hats where they wouldn't get soiled. We finally gave up, and no longer insisted on removing hats except at dances and then we provide free checking service.

Frequently the bashful and shy assume an air of bravado and noisiness as defenses against their shyness. The leader senses their need to belong to the group in a constructive way and attempts to help them find ways to relate so as to contribute. He helps set the stage so that mutual support comes from attempts to find belongingness. We have experienced tough, loud-mouthed girls who have burst into tears when they were encouraged to talk about why they were acting so tough. Their values were so concealed that the teacher had to assume a great hunger for affection in order to reach them.

In one area a place was opened in which youth could be themselves. Wise, responsive, friendly adults were present to help whenever they were needed. Gradually the young people discovered these were adults who would listen to them, who wouldn't "shoo" them away, who didn't whack them with a club, and who were genuinely interested in what happened to them. This was a new experience for many of the boys and girls who came to the center. After a few weeks one boy took off his beret and said to one of the adult leaders, "I am no longer a hoodlum. You know our first names." These same facilities



were used for four years by many community clubs and informal groups with only five instances when the rooms were not left in good order. The director of this center refers to it as a "small center of happiness and influence built out of a climate of things being good."

Leader as Trainer

One of the teacher's major functions is to train youth in leadership responsibility and skills. This training is formal and informal, explicit and implicit. Much is learned, of course, through experiencing effective leadership from the classroom teacher. More can be drawn out of these situations by making explicit the techniques and skills that the teacher is using. This is a process that is workable with groups from about eleven years on up. For instance, when a discussion of a controversial issue is taking place, the teacher serves as discussion leader as a starter. As the discussion proceeds or immediately after it has taken place, he leads the group in an analysis of the processes that were working in the discussion. He helps make explicit the points at which he restated the problem, clarified issues, called for common agreements, brought the group back to the proposal. In this manner, class members are building enough security to accept leadership roles with ease. As soon as someone in the group feels secure enough to volunteer to serve in this capacity, he practices the skills that have been demonstrated by the teacher. The teacher seeks to increase the number of leader-participants to include the total group as this process continues. He may need to give additional encouragement to some members of the class by making experiences possible in small sub-groups.

Another means of training leadership is by devising a series of demonstrations in which members of the class participate for purposes of learning how to cope with certain situations. Some of the typical problems that groups face are as follows:

- A dominating leader who has a specific agenda to accomplish.
- A weak leader who fails to perform the leadership functions expected of him.
- A strong sub-group or clique antagonistic to the leader.
- A dissatisfied member who refuses to "go along" but has no constructive proposal.
- An indifferent group that responds to no suggestions.

- A strong sub-group or clique favorable to the leader.
- A group split into two almost evenly divided factions.

Situations involving these roles and many others that the boys and girls devise may be developed and played out for the purpose of analyzing feelings, roles, structure, group alignments, and other factors affecting the way in which the groups function.

A third type of leadership training is that of specific training for class officers and others having special functions to perform. We think it is not too much to expect that approximately one-third of the school population in a vitally functioning school would be involved in actual leadership positions at any one time. Some schools have contrived ways to train those leaders for their roles. This is accomplished in various ways. Some schools have so scheduled these students that a free hour in their programs is used for leadership training. Other schools have arranged for meetings after school. Some of the areas covered in the training are:

- Use of parliamentary procedure and use of less structured group controls.
- Developing involvement in group activities.
- Arriving at group decisions.
- Setting group standards.
- Using small group procedures effectively.
- Learning role flexibility.
- Making agendas.
- Working with sub-groups or cliques.
- Handling conflict in a group.
- Skills needed for various leadership roles, such as recorder, observer, summarizer, harmonizer.

Training for recording

Nearly every group needs someone to keep its record. We think of the recorder as being more than a minute-taker. He records the reasons groups have for their positions and he is selective in his recording. He uses his good judgment about the type of record needed, but he endeavors to represent all points of view. He summarizes when the group needs to remember what has taken place. The recorder may find it helpful to organize his recordings into categories such as proposals, agreements, facts needed, decisions reached, differences expressed. In so doing he may need to have a team of individuals helping him. This

method enables quick organization of what has happened. The task of training recorders is extensively one of trying out various procedures and testing for results. As recordings are discussed more accurate perceptions and improved skill in recording is gained. The teacher serves as recorder for the small children, usually making a record on an easel large enough for all to see. What is recorded is suggested by the children themselves. Upper elementary children are not too young to begin to keep simple records of proceedings of the group. Such records are valuable in teaching the group the value of decisions. Using upper elementary children to record for the smaller children is an experience productive of the human qualities of sharing and valuing.



Leader as Coordinator of Resources

The teacher serves to coordinate all the resources available to the group for the experiences being planned. One teacher discusses the role of coordinating in describing how plans were made for an all-day conference focused on real student problems:

We hope to set up problems around which the groups will focus. Parents—kids—staff members will make up the groups. They will select the problems prior to the conference and we will have training experiences for leadership roles. Core classes and club officers and student council members will be tapped for leadership material. The day of the conference, kids will go to the discussion group of their predetermined choice at 9:00 in the morning. Around 11.00 all of the groups will meet together to report the feelings of their different discussion groups and to pull together the ideas of the various groups.

Then in the afternoon these ideas, suggestions, action proposals or what not will be reported in the general session of the conference. This general session will be composed of student body, staff, and parent and community people. In our general session we will have further discussion and realignment of problems through buzz groups for ten minutes through which we will pull together recommendations for the total conference. These recommendations will then be mimeographed and sent to the membership of the conference.

At noon we will have group singing and at the end of the conference all interested will meet in the gymnasium for danc-

ing and general mixing. We hope old and young alike will participate. We may have a picnic late in the afternoon to wind up the day.

We know there is much work ahead but we have clearance from the central office and our parent-teacher group is real excited. The adults are having fun working with the kids and we have a number of resource people in our own community lined up.

As we analyze this project, we find that the leader has to coordinate in six areas: program, organization, personnel for leadership, facilities, materials, and recreation. Each of these areas has dozens of details requiring coordination. This gives us a picture of the complexity of the coordinating function. Someone or a group of people must know what needs to be done, what has been done, who is doing what, what the available resources are, the policies of the organization, the pace at which things are moving, the facilities available for the plans made, and a multitude of other functions many of which are peculiar to each particular situation and therefore must be met as they come up. At best this function requires a large amount of playing by ear.

Assessing Group Anticipations

What succeeds with a group is of significance as one is preparing for leadership. An analysis of hundreds of post-session reaction forms shows that groups of young people respond favorably to these qualities of leadership:

Strong but not authoritarian personality.

Refraining from imposing personal interests on group.

Utilization of group and individual interests.

Warm, friendly, accepting climate.

Experimental attitude.

Emphasis on group accomplishments.

Acceptance of feelings expressed in group.

Awareness of contributions of non-participants and skill in drawing them into group.

Skill in keeping group "on-the-beam."

Respect for variety of opinion.

Sense of humor.

Stimulation of wide participation.

Concern for all—no preferences shown.

Matters of concern to these same students as their reactions were sampled were:

- Lack of obvious structure.
- Not enough awareness of time limitations.
- Too much time spent in planning.
- Too much domination by a few.
- Too much wandering from topic of discussion.

As a corollary to these qualities of leadership, successful group meetings were thought to have these characteristics:

- High group interest in discussion.
- Fast-moving pace.
- Extensive individual participation.
- Evidence of planning.
- Effective use of resource people.
- Adjustment by group to individual feelings.
- Cooperative and friendly atmosphere.
- Informative.
- Clear-cut goals with direct focus.
- Stimulated thinking.
- Impartial presentation of facts.
- Good cross-section of opinions.
- Realistic, down-to-earth; true to life.

And the weaknesses of meetings were summarized as follows:

- Trying to accomplish too much in available time.
- Not enough time for group discussion.
- Goals fuzzy, little direction.
- Too abstract.
- Not enough data—not informative.
- One person talking too much.
- Lack of orientation or briefing on the situation.
- Individual participation limited.
- Resource people dominating the meeting.
- Chairman failing to keep a focus to the discussion.
- Lack of enthusiasm.

While group anticipations may not necessarily represent the highest group functioning, these anticipations do help define our perceptions relative to what groups expect from a leader and from a meeting. If we know, for instance, that generally groups seek a strong leader, we have a useful perception to guide our functioning with groups. We recognize that we may have to go through

a weaning process before we build the highest potential of membership functioning. Knowing that domination by one or more vocal members is a typical problem tells us that one of our group tasks is likely to be that of self-discipline. If we recognize that a poor assessment of time factors is a common group problem, we have a clue that helps us plan realistically time-wise.

The following scale may serve as a useful tally sheet in assessing one's effectiveness as a leader:

	<i>Very Skilled</i>	<i>Moderately Skilled</i>	<i>Not Very Skilled</i>
Is goal-directed in his thinking			
Helps group move in direction of goals			
Helps group identify and focus thinking on common problems			
Attempts to establish a commonality of feeling			
Encourages a sharing of experiences and feelings			
Encourages healthy questioning			
Accepts contributions of each with respect			
Encourages give-and-take between group members			
Draws out members' own experiences			
Encourages expression of feelings			
Stimulates independent thinking			
Helps group to identify and use indigenous leaders			
Is sensitive to importance of timing			
Uses humor to relieve tension			
Leads group to make decisions, come to conclusions			
Helps the group develop consensus			

In summary, we suggest these statements for the teacher-leader to test out as he works with groups.

Learning which involves insight may often grow out of an anguished spirit.

All of us communicate a host of attitudes and emotional tones of which we are relatively unaware. These come from the tone of voice (loud, soft, defensive, cutting); muscular reactions (raise of eyebrows, shifting of position, popping knuckles, fidgety hands, and so on); words we use (euphemisms, clichés, polysyllables).

One of our tasks is to seek to become aware of these subtle communications.

As our emotions block out rational thinking, we tend to fall back on generalizations, exaggerated statements, withdrawing techniques, blame-fixing, scapegoating.

All of us communicate degrees of authoritarianism, and uncontrolled emotional reactions release these tendencies.

As we become less secure, more threatened, we hold tighter to those things we are not sure of.

Most of us need to improve our listening skills. Creative listening is an art that hears between the lines, sees beyond the visible. It is an intense process requiring concentration and attentiveness.

Most of the important issues of life are so complex that "right" and "wrong" are inappropriate symbols for description.

And yet most of us have been trained to think in rightness and wrongness terms.

A sense of humor wisely used saves many an anguished hour. Shall we resolve this day to find a thoughtful way for using a smile, a word of encouragement?

Everyone has his own way of behaving. Everyone has the right to be himself. This we call personal privilege. A corollary to this is that everyone has group responsibility by virtue of his membership in the group.

Take a person for what he is worth.

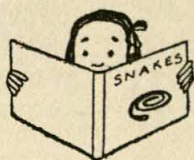
Assume that somewhere there is a kernel of good intentions, good will, and faith in people.

Have the courage to learn the causes of your dislikes.

Remember that new relationships may grow out of distress.

Growth toward maturity is a process of using experiences to gain insights. Growth is different and individual for each. It occurs at different rates in an infinite variety of ways and through an infinite variety of experiences.

Verbalization is the easiest part of one's learnings. We must continuously ask ourselves the questions, "What have we taken inside? What have we internalized?"



An individual coming into a group after it has been functioning for a period of time needs much help in sensing where the group has been. He needs a psychological orientation as well as a content one.

The leader plays by ear, for each group is unique. No score has ever been written that captures any group. He seeks continuously, therefore, to train his ear for finer shades of meaning and a greater variety of feelings.

We like Mumford's statement about the art of playing by ear:

Now life is the only art that we are required to practice without preparation, and without being allowed the pre-

liminary trials, the failures and botches that are essential for the training of a mere beginner. In life we must begin to give a public performance before we have acquired even a novice's skill; and often our moments of seeming mastery are upset by new demands, for which we have acquired no preparatory facility. Life is a score that we play at sight, not merely before we have divined the intentions of the composer, but even before we have mastered our instruments; even worse, a large part of the score has only been roughly indicated, and we must improvise the music for our particular instrument over long passages . . . The wonder is not that so much cacophony appears in our actual individual lives, but that there is any appearance of harmony and progression.³

³ Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1951), p. 266.



16

Roles of group membership

"TEACHER'S pet! Teacher's pet!" call the children to the studious one as he comes down the street lugging a well-filled brief case.

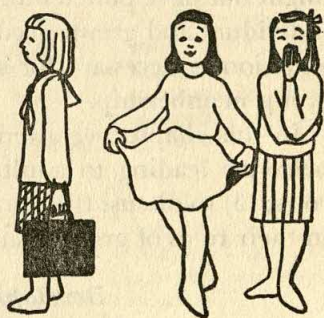
"She's a dope," they say of a daydreamer.

"I'm on Jack's team. He's a real guy," reveals identification with a group leader.

"Aw, he's such a sissy. Just a crybaby."

Tattletale! Tough cookie! Pewee! Mamma's boy! Drip! Creep! Fraidy-cat! Hep cat! Square! Wet blanket! Wise guy! These and other descriptive terms designate roles that are obvious to youngsters. These terms identify and label. Children cast each other in these roles and expect behavior appropriate to the label.

Teachers, parents, and other adults impose roles upon children. Barbara, a five-year-old, is teacher's pet and likes it. Sally, aged ten, is teacher's pet and resents it. At her age Sally doesn't know what to do about it, but Bob in high school has learned what he must do. He has chosen disdain for all school tasks as the only way to avoid being labeled a "brain." Bob's problem is further complicated by his father's being assistant principal of the high school. The school teacher's "big shot" son is another role that must be avoided if Bob is to win acceptance as a "regular guy." So Bob assumes an air of indifference toward school, rarely does his homework, is an enigma to his teachers, who have classified him as "high I.Q.," is



a bitter disappointment to his father, but feels himself to be more of a fellow among his peers.

Every child accepts, rejects, ignores, "knuckles down under," or "rises above" group standards because of what is ticking inside himself and because of what he perceives as appropriate behavior. He responds to group situations in terms of his learned concepts of group mores and pressures, and in terms of his own personal needs. His needs are built out of his total experiences, and are constantly being formed. As needs change from situation to situation, so will the individual's responses to the group.

Being liked is so important to Nancy that she is willing to perform distasteful duties in order to belong to a sorority. Jane's unusually sensitive understanding of democracy—secured from her dad with whom she identifies strongly—will not allow her to accept the sorority's invitation to be rushed. Bill joins a fraternity when he enters college because he is lonely and sees this way of belonging. At the end of the first semester, because he needs the time to study, Bill pulls out. If he had entered college with a group of his high school buddies, he might not have joined the fraternity or, if his freshman course had been a snap one, he might not have pulled out. An understanding of the dynamics of individual and group needs as they are expressed in each specific situation is necessary for an intelligent approach to the roles of group membership.

In this chapter we attempt: (1) to describe some characteristic behavior leading to adult types; (2) to describe group-centered roles; (3) to discuss the teacher's function in helping children grow in their roles of group membership.

Developmental Group Roles

One group of five-year-olds identified the roles of fighter, helper, nuisance, friend, confidante, coward, entertainer, annoyer, and the fair person. These are their words about their age mates.

"When he is playing fair, I like him."

"She is my very best friend in this room."

"She scribbles all over our papers."

"We giggle together."

"He pushes me down and is always hitting me."

"She is always butting in."

"He tells stories about people."

"He runs away after hitting me."

"She helps me with my reading."

"She sings good."

"She keeps hanging on me."

Note how the children express roles in terms of action. They describe functional relationships that are expressed in behaving *with* or *toward* or *against* others.

We wish to examine three full-blown developmental types to see the kind of behavior that is characteristic at different stages of growth. The three types we have chosen are quite obvious in nearly all school groups. Let's look at the behavior characteristics of the tattletale, the tough cookie, and teacher's pet between the ages of four and eight, again between eight and twelve, and then as an adolescent and an adult. If we place this behavior on a scale, we have a picture something like this:



"He pushes me down . . ."

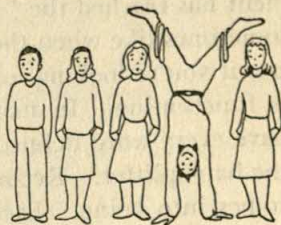
<i>Tattletale</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 4-8</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 8-12</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior Adolescent and Adult</i>
	Runs to mamma to tell on playmates. "Mamma, Jane knocked my house down."	Tells on others to teacher. "He took my book, teacher." "He got Jerry in trouble by hitting him."	Runs to the boss with tales about fellow workers. Runs to mamma with marital woes.
	Cries easily.	Whines.	Obsequious. "I don't want to be presumptuous but I thought you ought to know . . ."
	Blames others for what happens. "It wasn't my fault. Jack did it."	Seeks acceptance by playing off one child against another. "You can play with Joe if you want to, but I'm not going to play with a thief."	Shuns responsibility for consequences of the situation.
	Seeks reward of "good boy," "poor child," candy. Demands cuddling.	Seeks reward of added attention, punishment of those told on, commendation, perhaps high marks.	Seeks reward of money or position for information. In severe form, becomes the stool pigeon or the blackmailer.

<i>Tough Cookie</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 4-8</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 8-12</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior Adolescent and Adult</i>
	Bullies. "I'll kill you if you don't give me that." Fights, pushes, mean teasing. "Take that, you sissy!" "Look at fuzzy-top!" Takes toys by force. "If you tell on me, I'll sock you." Loud voice. Insists upon being the leader. Refuses to share toys. Becomes clever about having own way by picking inconvenient times to throw a tantrum.	Gang leader. Initiates ideas he knows are "outside limits." Imaginative ignoring of adult regulations. Organizes group for minor flaunting of authority; breaking of windows, petty thefts, being chased by fruit peddlers. Use of unacceptable language. Tries out words and actions of older boys and men. If a girl, may try to become a flirt at an early age.	Exploits people who work for him. Keeps "big boss" picture in minds of others. Organizes workers. Takes advantage of people's need for food and shelter to control them. Manages to have others do the "dirty work." He takes a cut. Head of a group that he controls through fear. In severe form gangster—"Big Italy," Al Capone.
<i>Teacher's Pet</i>	Seeks adult approval. Conforms. Hangs around while adults talk. Keeps clothes clean. Plays in precise, well-organized ways. Much time spent in solitary play or with one person who has been chosen because of "safe" characteristics.	Runs errands for teacher. Neat work. Does exactly as told. Reads a great deal. Has absorbing individual hobbies. Accepts adult life schedules and all kinds of routine with pleasure.	"Respectable citizen." Student of specialized area. May find it difficult to communicate with people on their terms. Contributes to civic groups, but wishes to control them as he has been controlled. Belongs to "right" clubs. Troubled by any other clubs. Stands for <i>status quo</i>. Views with doubt untried ideas. Easily upset by change. Frequently maladjusted in family life. May be known as a "fuss-budget."

<i>Teacher's Pet (Cont'd)</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 4-8</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior 8-12</i>	<i>Characteristic Behavior Adolescent and Adult</i>
	Language precise. Frequently inquires, "Am I a good boy?"	Probably highly verbal.	Insists upon purity of expression. Regrets slang, modern idioms. Loses contact with younger generation. Imposes <i>status quo</i> on own children and others he can influence.

These roles are somewhat stereotyped. Yet each of us probably has observed a number of people proceed through these growth stages much as we have delineated them here. The role of the teacher is to cut in whenever he detects a trend toward unwholesome development so as to affect the trend positively. Teachers must sense when and how to nudge a trend. To do this we must examine with children our system of rewards and punishments. We may be rewarding (thus encouraging) the tattletale, without recognizing that this is leading to behavior that becomes more negative as the individual grows. We need to ask ourselves when telling on others is acceptable and when it is to be discouraged.

We may be insisting upon conformity without recognizing that unquestioning conformity may be antithetical to the demands of democratic citizenship. Our role is to lead children to examine the demands for conformity and for non-conformity. We suggest "The Lottery"¹ by Shirley Jackson as an excellent discussion device for leading young adolescents in considering, "Why conform and when?" From every group in which real living is allowed will emerge many situations appropriate for analysis and discussion by the group members.



¹ Shirley Jackson, "The Lottery," 55 *Short Stories from the New Yorker* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), pp. 163-171.

Group-Centered Roles

As the one adult in the classroom, the teacher seeks to help each child to recognize the needs of the group as a whole and to contribute, sometimes individually, sometimes in small groups, and sometimes as a member of the total group, to the common purposes that have been established. In this way children develop a *self-other* outlook. They come to understand through careful guidance that each one has a contribution to make to all and to know the satisfactions that come from being needed.

What are some of the roles functioning in classrooms and how are children made aware of them? Let's take a look at a hypothetical group of seven-year-olds.

As we enter the room, we find the children discussing community helpers. Tom wants to know if a policeman is any good to anybody. Jack answers quickly, "Of course, he is. He helps us cross the street, doesn't he?" Here we have two group-centered roles—the information-seeker and the information-giver. The teacher notes these by appropriate comments such as, "That's a good question, Tom. Jack has helped us answer that one." Jane says, "But he wouldn't be a helper if he didn't come to work." So even at seven we find the clarifier. As discussion continues an argument rages. Some children staunchly maintain that the fireman is more important than the postman. The argument has reached the "'tis-'tain't" stage when Helen says, "Well, sometimes like when there's a fire the fireman is more important, but if you're looking for a letter the postman is." A harmonizer is functioning. In many groups we find someone who has to have every word defined, who is picayune in all his approaches—the hair-splitter. Records need to be kept and the recorder's role comes into being. Each committee needs a leader or chairman. And so we find a wide variety of roles in every group.

The teacher labels these roles as they are spontaneously enacted in the group's work. Gradually the children come to recognize and start to identify roles as they appear. At the age of ten or eleven, they become interested in discussing ways in which these roles function, how they themselves operate in groups, the roles that block and those that build group membership. They become interested in studying group membership, in keeping flow charts

of the participation (see page 259 for description of flow charts), and in trying out a variety of roles. Original skits exaggerating roles that may have gotten out of control are lots of fun for youngsters to work out. Much broad comedy can be portrayed by making masks or hats which stylize the role. Imagine, for instance, a scene in which the hair-splitter wears a bald wig with only two or three strands of hair neatly parted in the center; the clown or playboy has a typical clown's face; the blocker has a huge block for a hat; the information-seeker's hat is an oversized question mark. Upper elementary children enjoy this kind of humor. Sensitivity developed through such means is an unusually acceptable way of teaching how we look to others.

Benne² has analyzed the functioning of roles in groups. He classifies roles into three categories: those relating to tasks to be performed, such as information-seeker, opinion-giver, recorder; those that build the group itself, such as encourager, observer, harmonizer; and individual roles that are oriented negatively to group purposes, such as the blocker, the attention-getter, the playboy, the monopolizer.

Children of ten, eleven, and twelve are so much interested in what makes people act as they do that they readily accept suggestions and opportunities to study themselves through role-playing, discussion, and observation. Important insights result from suggesting to children activities such as:



See how many roles you discover in our room during the discussion we have on current events.

We are likely to agree with those we like most and disagree with those we like less. Make a record of all the statements made by one of your close friends during the next hour. Check all those with which you agree.

See how many ways you find people playing the role of the harmonizer, the attention-getter, the clown during any one day. We will discuss these in class and perhaps play some of the situations.

What different roles have you played in our group today?

Make up an original skit using some of the roles we have discussed and present it for all of us to enjoy.

² Kenneth Benne and Paul Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members," *The Journal of Social Issues* (Spring, 1948).

Teacher's Function in Helping Children Grow in Roles of Group Membership

The teacher has at least five functions as he works with children to help them grow in group role functioning. We will examine each of these briefly.

Assesses roles in group

The teacher studies the individual members of the group. He accumulates as much knowledge as he can about each child, observing behavior in various situations. He watches each child to see what roles he enacts in these situations. He notes attitudes toward both parents, various teachers, authority, and other children during play and in committee work. He becomes aware of the number of the child's friends, who his friends are, how dependent he is upon others, how he responds to rules and regulations, how he responds to group standards, whether he is willing to accept the codes of the group. He notes the clusters of small groups within the total class and becomes aware of their permanence or non-permanence. He watches to see the group's response to the enactment of certain roles. Does the clown, for instance, send the group into hysterics, is he ignored, or does he receive controlled laughter?

From a study of individuals the teacher develops a profile of group roles. The profile is fluid, is dynamic. New experiences change the profile. A newcomer to the group may cause, and often does, a different configuration of friendship patterns and attitudes. The film *First Lessons*³ shows the disrupting influence of a new boy who moves in on a group and changes the social structure.

One teacher's profile of group roles of the girls in her class reads like this:

Sally—an accepted leader of the girls. Well liked by boys.

Jane—second in command; takes over when Sally is absent; carries out Sally's wishes and helps initiate plans with Sally for the rest of the girls. Boys tolerate.

Juliet—silent member; has not registered with the group as yet. Follows docilely but with no visible enthusiasm. Boys ignore.

³ *First Lessons*, Mental Health Film Board, 2 reels, sound. (New York: New York University Film Library, New York University.)

Betty—excluded from the group; an isolate; group resists her moves to belong. Boys tease.

Mary—a newcomer; seems to be threatening Jane's position with Sally. Boys are sizing her up.

Trudy—a good team member; follows with enthusiasm and competency. Boys tolerate.

Helen—buddy of Trudy's; follows wherever she leads but looks toward Sally and Jane for ideas. Boys ignore.

Paula—a tomboy; group accepts her because she is skilled in games. Boys accept as member of the team but also pick on her at times.

Evaluates roles of group

The teacher uses all this accumulating information to evaluate the meaning of the roles and the relationships in the group. He encourages children to play a wide variety of roles, to become sensitive to the needs of the situation and to their own developmental needs. He contrives to draw all children into the group by setting up situations in which each has something to contribute.

He studies the behavior of children to see if they are responding to pressures, tensions, and demands in the environment that hamper healthy growth. He may find that a study of school practices is needed to explain behavior. One teacher describes the effects of the handling of the lunch program in her school:

The teachers' only topic of conversation was how awful the children behave at lunch. We can't control them. They lie. They deceive. They ignore; they are disrespectful. There was no pupil-teacher planning of our lunch program. We were told what to do and we did it. One teacher was put on duty the first half-hour of lunch duty and two teachers the second half-hour. The principal organized a lunch patrol. Teachers were not informed of the responsibilities these children were to assume. The children were not prepared to do the job.

Here was a perfect opportunity for the children to "take on" the roles of the adults. Their emotional response to school pressures was projected upon the other children at lunch. They behaved as they had perceived teachers behaving. The lunch patrol behaved like little dictators. They passed on the treatment they had been receiving.

The situation became so bad—teachers complaining that their afternoons were impossible, they couldn't get any work done, the children were behaving like demons—that I volun-



teered to see what I could do by working *with* the children. I first asked the children to write on unsigned papers how we could make our lunch program better.

The answers reveal the manner in which the lunch patrol had assumed roles of adults as they see them. These are representative unedited replies:

The patrols holler at every move you make. I am bossed around and can't eat. After lunch we are put in the auditorium and set. You can at least let us have a book to read.

The patrols just stand at the tables and boss everyone around.

Of course, they wouldn't think of picking up straws off the floor, but they make us pick up other people's trash.

When you sit down the lunch patrols keep telling us to move down until you can't move an arm to eat.

Most of the time you have to sit like a statue. You can't even go to the bathroom.

All of the children that take care of the tables walk around and tell the other children what to do.

Over ninety per cent of the responses commented on the way in which the lunch patrols were carrying out their roles. Clearly this teacher had to help the children and teachers understand the origins of the trouble they were having. An evaluation of the roles children were playing helped to peg down the problem and suggested ways of changing the atmosphere of the lunch room. Group discussions of the responses with the lunch patrol helped clarify the roles of the patrol. Gradually the idea of having the children select their own patrol emerged and a freer climate began to develop. It took time!

The teacher in his evaluation of the roles being enacted in his group has some criteria by which he makes judgments about them. We suggest these criteria as beginning points:

Are children enacting a wide variety of roles in the group?

Does the same child get stuck with keeping the record, or with clean-up; likewise, does the same child or small group get to run the pleasant errands, to be chairman, to interview the principal?

Do children find it easy to switch from one type of role to another? Is there a flexible quality about the group?

If the leader of a committee is absent, can someone else step into the role? If the group has decided on a skit and Jane gets the measles,

can Sue substitute for Jane? Does the committee work together so that it is difficult to tell who the leader is?

Is the behavior to be expected for this developmental stage?

The teacher expects that eleven-, twelve-, and thirteen-year-old boys will disdain girls and that most of the girls will ignore boys. He expects a wide variety of interests with relatively short interest spans with younger children. The teacher expects a rapid shifting in friendship patterns during the pre-adolescent age. He expects a more than usual amount of giggling from boys and girls when they are beginning to become aware of each other as boys and girls. He won't become upset about such behavior though it may be exasperating. He will contrive to divert this awareness into useful channels. (Dramatics helps youngsters of this age to forget their own awkward feelings and to identify their feelings with those of others who have gained better control of them.)



Is this behavior consistent for this child or does it represent a deviation from his usual behavior?

As children live together in an atmosphere in which they are free to be themselves, the teacher has an opportunity to note behavior that seems to say: "All is not well with this child just now." The child who is usually the first to get the ball and bat and have a game organized who suddenly becomes very quiet and solitary says to an observant teacher, "Something's bothering Teddy." The all-boy five-year-old who deserted his blocks and engines just after his baby sister was born and for a week played house with the dolls was telling his observant teacher that he was feeling a little insecure about all of these new happenings. Knowing that a child may be wrestling with some of his own inner needs tells the wise teacher to refrain from any outside pressure, to stand by to give a hand if needed, but to wait until a hand is sought.

Are the negative roles being enacted by the children induced by the behavior of adults in the school?

The story of the school lunch program and the behavior of the lunch patrol is an example of children adopting adult behavior.

Is the behavior expressing a growing concern for others?

As children play through the roles of their group living, are they becoming more aware of the needs of others? The teacher observes whether the only child who has never had to share her toys is learning to give her playmate some of what she's staked out as her own for playtime.

An eloquent illustration of this concern is an episode covering six years about a girl whom we shall call Nora. When Nora came to kindergarten she was one of the most unruly children we have ever seen. She was very sly. One day we observed her swinging her snow-

suit belt around her head in ever-widening circles until the belt hit somebody. She would allow a child to get almost through painting at the easel and then just run her hand down across it, laugh, and run away. She was as nearly incorrigible as a child could be.

Her father and mother ran a tavern down on the village line. It was a rough place. The child spent every evening there, fell asleep, and was covered up on a couple of chairs. She was gotten out ready to catch the school bus in the morning.

Nora remained quite difficult for three or four years before the culture of the school became more potent than the home. We couldn't do anything about the home. We just had to make the school influence stronger in her life. That took time. We were interested in the fact that the children seemed to understand her problems and didn't resent her too much. They resented specifics in her behavior, but did not reject her as a person.

In the sixth grade, after we had moved into a new school, Nora was a very well-adjusted, pretty, little girl. The girls in the room took a walk one nice spring morning with a new girl who had just come into the neighborhood. The youngsters were pointing out their homes in the neighborhood; when Nora's was pointed out, this new girl said something like, "That old dump!" So the whole group of girls came right back to their teacher and said, "We aren't going to have that girl in our class—talking about Nora's home like that." The teacher reminded them that they had spent several years helping Nora out in becoming friendly, and that it might take a little while with this new girl.

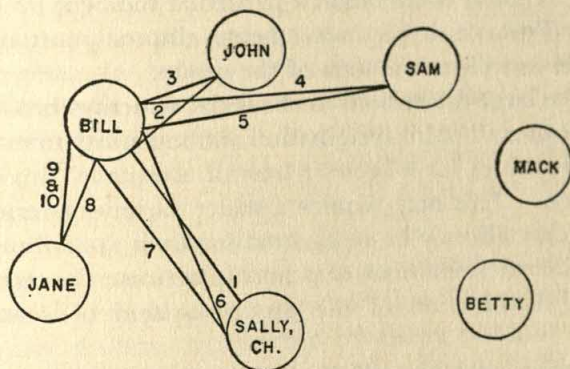


Creates constructive environment

The teacher assesses the children's needs and introduces into the environment those factors needed for positive group roles. In a fifth grade, Bill gave little chance for others to talk. He had the answer to every question. His ideas were spontaneous, loudly expressed, and usually acceptable. The group had come to accept Bill as its spokesman. Bill took this role as his undisputed right, clearly an unhealthy situation for both Bill and the group. The teacher suggested that the group spend some time learning the arts and skills of talking together as adults do in their clubs and organizations. The class accepted the idea with enthusiasm. They interviewed their parents as a method of surveying some of the problems adults have in their organizations.

Many of the parents said one of their problems was to keep one or two people from talking too much and others not saying anything. The teacher told the class that this problem plagued

many groups. She informed them of some ways adults have worked out to spread participation and to come to decisions. She mentioned, for instance, that when the Atomic Energy Commission was formed, these distinguished men spent many hours deciding how they would carry on their proceedings as they studied and talked together. She outlined some of the duties of the group process observer. Immediately Bill wanted to be observer. The teacher suggested that two individuals work together and keep a participation flow chart. The result during the first five minutes of the discussion looked like this:



At this point the teacher asked for a report from the observers, Bill and John. This conversation ensued:

BILL: Well, nearly everyone took part.

TEACHER: John, what does your flow chart say about the degree of participation?

JOHN: Well, there were ten different contributions—two from Sally, one from Sam, one from Jack, one from Jane, and five from Bill and none from the other members. It looks like Bill had to answer each person as he spoke.

TEACHER: I wonder what this says to us.

JANE: Maybe if Bill wouldn't speak up so fast some of the rest of us would have a chance to talk. I wanted to say lots of things, but I just would get my mouth open ready to speak and Bill was already talking.

Bill was surprised to see how much he talked. When the discussion was taken up, he began to keep a tally on himself. Bill did not change overnight, but he did begin to see himself as a member of the group who was dominating the situation to the detriment

of other members. Because of the contrivance of the teacher, he found himself in a situation where he had a chance to work on being a more cooperative group member without losing face.

The teacher has a variety of ways to learn about the social structure of the group. Her own perceptions are invaluable. Children's play reveals the many roles they accept and reject and the shifting patterns of friendship. The "Ohio Social Acceptance Scale"⁴ or the "Classroom Social Distance Scale"⁵ give pictures of group acceptance and rejection in a more formal manner. The sociometric techniques developed by Jennings⁶ give a picture of each child's choices of friends at a particular moment for a specific function. From such pictures emerge cliques, mutual choices, and isolates as well as the stars of the group.

When the large dimensions of the social structure become clear, the teacher uses all of his imagination and ingenuity to make available opportunities for a broader base of acceptance among all of the children. This may require a wider variety of respected activities so that all may be recognized for their contributions. It may require an assessment of school practices. It certainly requires an examination of the group's system of rewards and penalties.

The teacher asks himself if the distribution of rewards and punishments is such as to encourage a variety of roles. Is, for instance, the sincerely doubting Thomas respected as highly as the one who conforms without question to adult-imposed standards? Do all children in the group have the chance to contribute to group goals or is the curriculum so narrow that the adequacy of only a few people is valued? Is the living so managed that children have variety in group experiences? Is it as respectable to be able to draw a pretty picture or to grow a healthy plant as to read well? Is it as respectable to be quiet and thoughtful as to be quick, buoyant, and outgoing? Is the circle of acceptance drawn wide enough that all children feel they have a place inside?

⁴ Louis Rath, *Ohio Social Acceptance Scale* (Bronxville, New York: Modern Education Service).

⁵ Ruth Cunningham, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), pp. 401-406.

⁶ Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry and Group Relations* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).

Helps children understand roles each situation requires

We seek living in the classroom as varied as life outside the classroom. In such living, varied roles are required to carry on the classroom routines, encompassing all the competencies and temperaments found in the group. A third grade has decided to build and maintain a grocery store. What are some of the roles needed? Well, we need some people whose job is to decide what we'll have in the store (planners). We need some people who will find out the prices of our produce (information-seekers). We need some people who will plan and construct the facilities (planners and constructors). We need someone to organize the running of the store (executors). A name and a decor for the store are needed (creators). People with quick responses, others with slow are valuable. We need people who are painstaking and others who see a whole sweep at one flash. We need those who will encourage or entertain when we get downhearted enough to throw up the whole idea. We note that, in accomplishing this task, figures, readers, constructors, dreamers, executors, evaluators, planners, designers, entertainers, encouragers are all valued roles. We need the one who gives a second sober thought as well as the initiator of ideas. We need boldness, thoughtfulness, decisiveness, and hesitation. We need skills in the three R's plus art and human relations.



When we went to high school the annual operetta was a grand occasion for the music teacher to display her talents. The operetta was purchased, a royalty was paid. Tryouts were held to enable the teacher to judge who was most likely to do the various parts well. Hearts were hurt, mothers of unsuccessful aspirants were outraged. The successful ones, particularly the boys, were labelled "sissy."

How different today to find large groups of high school youngsters, with genuinely competent adult leadership, writing original script, cooperatively conceiving roles, discussing who has the peculiar talents for carrying out each role in terms of the purposes of the enterprise. Such productions require the creative endeavors of dozens of people and can accommodate scores of them,

and roles can be created to enable all to participate. The grand conceivers are no more important than the arrangers of the score; the designers of the scenery are useless without the painstaking painters. If the production is to make some money, as for the trip to Washington, an astute business management will be required to take a dim view of proposed spending and a most practical view of ticket-selling. If the main purpose is kept in mind, awkward Judy will not care to be in the ballet even if her mother is president of the P.T.A., nor will the mayor's son who can't add seek to be the treasurer. It may be that the youngsters sense Judy's great need for some public acclaim and will make up for her a comedy routine.

In all of life, motives for seeking roles have crucial importance in character building. Too often we see people seeking the prestige of the presidency of a class or a nation knowing they dislike to do what presidents must do. Now and then teachers seek the salary and status of the principalship with intense distaste and scant talent for the tasks principals perform. Mental health and group welfare can be preserved by keeping roles in the main stream of group enterprise and purpose.

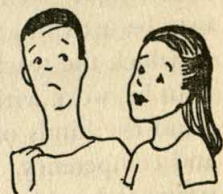
Now in *all* these roles are aspects of leadership and followership. We have emphasized that we need leaders and followers to get the world's work done. This is a false dichotomy, for every role is a combination of leading and following. What we mean when we say followership is a decision to defer to peculiar competencies. We are saying to each other, "I will follow your lead because I realize that you know and understand this area most thoroughly, but I reserve the right to help decide on how this fits in with the whole." With this focus on the demands of the situation, every task, every role is *most* important because the whole is incomplete without it. A name for a store without a store front is useless. A pile of products unpriced and unorganized is useless. A musical score without an audience is so much lifeless paper.

The teacher's task as he helps to create an environment for group growth is to remember that group life is for the purpose of enhancing individual worth and dignity. To achieve this purpose he contrives all kinds of situations to bring variety and meaning to group life. He helps the constructor to learn the skills of creating and designing. He sees that all children have much

practice in planning many concrete things and experience in considering a few abstract notions. He infers, and at times explicitly states, the need for many kinds of roles and the importance of recognizing that all require leading and following, that the citizen who functions well in a democracy is one who understands these facts and is able to enact a variety of roles with skill and insight into the meaning of the whole.

Helps children to self-understanding

The teacher seeks and creates opportunities to help children gain insight into themselves. Through the elementary school this is done, for the most part, implicitly; but, as children approach adolescence, they seek to discuss with understanding adults the motivation, temperament, and needs of human beings. "Now, why did Tom have to do that?" is often heard. "He had to go and spoil the whole thing by getting smart," says one youngster of his buddy. Adolescence is an auspicious time to develop classroom discussions about these new matters that really concern the youngsters themselves. In a warm, friendly atmosphere children tend to reveal their inner concerns to teachers. They are hungry to talk with someone on an adult basis. Many of their problems furnish material for role-playing. A gawky boy reveals his interest in how to ask a "gal for a date." It may have taken him quite a long time and a good deal of courage to reveal his interest. The teacher senses this as a delicate moment that may be spoiled unless handled "just right." He uses all the knowledge, insight, and wisdom that he has developed about



"Gee, I wish she'd go out with me!"

this youngster to respond in an appropriate way. He may try to peg down this problem as one that many people in the group have in one form or another. If this approach seems feasible, sociodrama and group discussions may result. On the other hand, the problem may be one that requires personal counselling.

One technique for helping children understand themselves is to ask them to respond to short descriptions of various types of group roles by listing the names of those members of the group who fit the description and by listing one's own name wherever you feel the description fits. Some sample descriptions might be:

Here is a person who tries to make everyone happy as he works with them. He often says something to make everyone laugh when there is a disagreement. He tells people when he thinks they've made a good point. He notices when people seem left out and tries to include them.

Here is a person who is always clowning around. He likes to play jokes on people but he doesn't like to have others play jokes on him. His clowning delays the work that the group is doing. He seems more interested in his own clowning than in the group's activities.

Here is a person who just sits. He doesn't like to work with the group and he seldom speaks up. He likes to read a book most of the time.

Here is a person who has lots of ideas. He seems to think of ways the group can work things out together. He has many suggestions about how things can get done.

A number of descriptions of group roles have been developed and may be secured. *Cunningham's Social Analysis of the Classroom*⁷ is one that many teachers find helpful. We urge that each teacher develop his own descriptions of the roles that are most obvious in his group. This allows adaptations for reading abilities and other peculiarities of groups. We recommend that the descriptions not number over ten or twelve, as they seem to be confusing if given in greater number. The results of this analysis may be used in group and individual counselling and in the way in which the teacher lives with the group daily.

In his work with the children the teacher helps each one understand the kinds of roles that are compatible to his temperament and competency. We get ourselves in indefensible positions by trying to be something which we are not. The quiet, thoughtful person develops enough insight to refrain from trying to be a "barnstormer" on a lecture tour. One of the saddest plights of individuals is to try to enact a role inconsistent with one's being. Recently, we witnessed a glamorous Hollywood actress trying to assume the role of an authority on international relations. Comments of the audience as they left the auditorium were revealing. "She left me cold." "I never understood a word she said." "She just didn't talk where I live."

⁷ Ruth Cunningham and others, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), pp. 419-422.

All of us play roles; each of us is a whole cast of characters on his own stage of life. We are born into some roles, as in our families; some roles are assigned to us; others are chosen by us. This is good. We become troubled not by the variety of roles we must play nor by their conflict with those we wish to play, but by the extent of our failure to recognize our roles as roles to be carried out with intelligent pursuit of purpose or to be rejected by intelligent planning. Under the guidance of teachers, children must have abundant opportunity for finding appropriate roles for themselves in the several groups in which each functions: family, classroom, student body, circle of friends, football team, junior patrol. Children who are afforded opportunity for seeking and recognizing roles in groups will develop into valuable, maturing members of new families, neighborhoods, discussion groups, assembly lines, library boards, youth commissions, presidential cabinets, boards of trustees. Of late we have witnessed much havoc resulting from individuals seeking group membership, as in legislatures, in order to play roles incompatible with the purposes for which the group was established. Healthy group enterprise deliberately maintains clarity of goals with individuals carrying out roles clearly seen and felt by each and by the group as relevant to the goals of the group and in harmony with the well-being and gratification of the individuals involved in it, and served by it.



17

Using group discussion and role-playing

THIS is written on the lawn of a Vermont farm that has been equipped to accommodate twenty-five children for summer camp experience. It is Circus Day. The lawn is being transformed into an arena with streamers proclaiming, "The Circus Is Here Today."



The children range from six to eleven years old, their counselors from fifteen to fifty. In the group is one child who is hard of hearing, one who has congenital heart trouble, one who is brain-damaged. While most of the youngsters come from large cities, two have homes in rural Vermont, several are suburbanites, one lives in a large New York hotel.

In preparing for the circus and in presenting it, the children and their counselors employed the techniques we are about to describe. These children discussed their project for many days. In small groups they played out their ideas, projecting them into reality to consider them more wisely. As we watched and listened to the children making their final preparations we saw clearly the key to the successful use of techniques of group enterprise—a technique works only if the group using it believes it the best possible way to accomplish its purpose.

These children dramatized into reality for us another significant principle in the use of techniques—the spirit with which a technique is used determines the quality of the experience. The ways in which this group of children and adults have been living together exemplifies the spirit of living and learning of which we

have been writing. The children worked together on jobs that needed to be done without regard for age or comparisons of capacities.

A spirit of helpfulness and "busyness" pervades the place. As soon as a group finishes a task, it finds another that needs to be done. Materials, ideas, co-workers are shared without stress or contention. Children and counselors give as much approval to the sign for the pop-corn stand made by the brain-damaged child as to the most elaborate tumbling act. (Both are essential to the circus.) Children are free to remark to counselors, "Edna, if I were you I'd put that stake here." The spirit is one of genuine respect and joy in shared living.

Neither children nor adults are conscious of using any techniques. They are simply working together on an important enterprise. Yet these adults know what they are doing, and why! They are aware of the growth taking place for each child as he works hard and they skillfully contrive ways for the circus to be more fun for everybody. The ill child has been moved to the door so she can watch.

Techniques of working with children in groups consist of more than the ingredients for the recipe. They include the ways in which the ingredients are handled. Just as grandma often has a hard time telling granddaughter how to make light, fluffy biscuits but can show her quite easily, so we recognize the difficulty of telling anyone how to use role-playing or how to carry on group discussions. We write this chapter then with several cautions in mind. Don't try out a new technique unless the group sees a real purpose for using it. Don't try to use the techniques described unless you feel comfortable about using them. Remember that our purpose in teaching is to call out responses, to help children to relate to each other individually and in groups; this occurs only as children engage in interesting, vital activities that are important to them.

We shall discuss the uses of group discussion and role-playing in group enterprises.

Group Discussion

There can be no group discussion as long as the teacher is telling. If the teacher has the answers, what is the use of discussing?

Edgar Dale says, "A good teacher then starts not with answers but with good questions, big and searching questions."¹ Relinquishing the telling role has to be genuine, or youngsters soon recognize that we are having only a guessing game. Then the purpose becomes that of gaining skill in guessing what the teacher has in his mind. What then is the teacher's role in developing group discussion?

In promoting discussion, the teacher has a two-fold responsibility—to encourage growth in the quality of feelings among group members (sometimes called group maintenance or group cohesiveness) and to foster those conditions that lead to effective problem-solving (sometimes called group task roles). If the teacher's focus, as he enacts these roles, is that of sensitizing group members to the necessity for keeping these two aspects of group activity in some degree of balance, greater group growth occurs.

In his role of group maintenance, the teacher is concerned with individuals or sub-groups who tend to dominate the group, with the timid, reluctant contributor, with the negative child, and with a wide variety of roles. His aim is to help group members understand that no adequate discussion can take place until individuals feel confident and secure enough with each other to make in the group those remarks that are so often reserved for the cloak rooms, the bus trips, or the lunch tables.

In helping the group focus on its tasks, the teacher leads the group to clarify the type of discussion that is taking place by examining purposes. Is the purpose to make plans for an activity; is it to make a choice; is it to open up varying points of view about a philosophical or historical question; is it to report on activities of sub-groups; is it to share experiences; is it to pick someone's brains? The kind of purpose determines the kind of outcomes that are to be expected, and affects pre-planning, seating arrangements, materials, and the roles of participants.²

Another function of the teacher is to help the group determine the size of group most appropriate for a certain type of discussion.

¹ Edgar Dale, "What Are We Here For?" *The News Letter* (Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University), December 1953, Volume XIX, Number 3.

² For a detailed description of types of discussion groups see Spencer W. Myers, "Making the Discussion Group an Effective Democratic Instrument," *The American School Board Journal* (September and October issues), 1948.

In coming to this decision, the individual needs of members must play an important part. If the group has a number of timid individuals, small intimate discussion groups give these people a better chance to build security and confidence in their participation. The teacher may use sociometrics to determine group membership or may encourage those with common interests to function as a group.³

Usually the teacher takes the initiative in setting standards for group productivity. He must quickly work himself out of this role, for this is just the role the youngsters expect him to take. The group cannot achieve its full power until it takes a large measure of responsibility for setting its own standards and evaluating achievement to see if what they set out to do has been accomplished and how. Children need success; success is the achievement of what we've set out to do. In groups that have had little experience in accepting responsibility for standard setting, the teacher may have to allow the group to take the consequences for their own lack of foresight so that the learning has real pertinency to the group members. If someone fails to make arrangements to use the public recreation facilities, the picnic may have to be called off or postponed. As long as the teacher acts as "checker-upper," the children will expect him to come through and cover up for their failures and feel no urgency to plan with care. Children must learn the group consequences attending the acceptance of a responsibility and then failing to be committed enough to follow through on it.



The teacher helps to train discussion leaders. This training begins with the six-year-olds in simple situations that may last only two or three minutes and continues to grow in complexity until the adolescent is able to coordinate a discussion about world affairs, a community problem, or any other vital subject. Every child needs to learn how to handle controversial issues. This necessitates full information. Every citizen in the mid-twentieth century needs the skill of participating in group decisions. We should count our work successful to the degree that we enable every boy and girl to gain skill in leading and participating in

³ Sociometric techniques are discussed in Chapter 19.

discussions. Our schools have made excellent beginnings in this art; educators from other parts of the world frequently comment on the ability of our youth to participate in discussions. We



could do infinitely more than we do. We believe that the youth who leave secondary schools should have had experience in carrying on symposiums, panel discussions, free-flowing discussions, round tables, forums. These types of discussion seem more functional than debating teams, which are too frequently trained to talk on either side of a question without regard for

commitment, and which are trained to win an argument without regard for the purposes for which facts and argument are used. Too, it seems that experience in group discussion is limited to public performances by our more facile and attractive youngsters who more readily enhance the proprietary concerns of their elders.

If it is to serve youth well, the modern secondary school must be a place in which young people can have a chance to discuss freely the questions that are significant to them. The business of Congress, the United Nations, labor, management, local problems, best-sellers, Broadway hits and Hollywood innovations, Sunday's sermons, World Series, and syndicated columns are topics for vital discussions out of school. In those schools in which such discussions form a substantial part of the curriculum, we have found education vigorous and challenging.

As young people prepare to leave high school, the teacher finds opportunities to point ahead to the kind of discussion situations in which young adults participate. The value of learning names quickly is an important consideration operating in groups that are newly formed. Name tags that are large enough to be visible across a room facilitate participation; the use of them is a simple technique easily applied. Discussing the political, religious, social, and civic opportunities of the community furnishes stimulating means for the young adult to project into the future the kind of group life he finds valuable and available.

The quality of thinking is a major concern in group discussions. Some of the questions the teacher seeks to develop with the group are:

Are new solutions evolving as a result of our discussion?

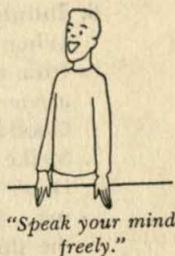
Is this discussion leading somewhere or does it seem to be going in circles?

Does discussion move toward accepted plans for action?

Are distinctions made between opinions and facts, between inferences and facts, between judgments and facts?

Are side-issues pursued consciously because of their richness or do they usurp the main discussion because of lack of direction?

Is the discussion predominantly circular or linear? Circular discussion may be described as one in which responses tie together whereas a linear discussion is one in which remarks following each other are predominantly unrelated.



The following suggestion sheet is an excellent summary of discussion techniques: ⁴

Suggestions for Discussion Group Members

1. Speak your mind freely.

The discussion meeting is yours—a chance for you to say what you think. Say it. Your ideas count. Here “everyone’s idea is worth just as much as everyone else’s, and a good bit more than some.”

2. Listen thoughtfully to others.

Try hard to get the other man’s point of view—see what experience and thinking it rests on. Remember: On almost every question there are three points of view—yours, mine, and the right one.

3. Keep your seat when you speak.

Whether you are group member or leader, don’t stand up to speak. The discussion meeting is not a place for speeches. Informality is the rule here.

4. Don’t monopolize the discussion.

Don’t speak for more than a minute or so at a time. Give others a chance. Dig for things that *matter*. Make your point in a few words, then pass the ball to someone across the circle. If discussion lags, help the leader put questions that will draw others out.

⁴ United States Department of Agriculture, *Suggestions for Discussion Group Members* (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics).

5. Don't let the discussion get away from you.

If you don't understand where it's going, say so. Ask for examples, cases, illustrations until you *do* understand. Try to tie up what is being said with your own experience and with what you have heard and read.

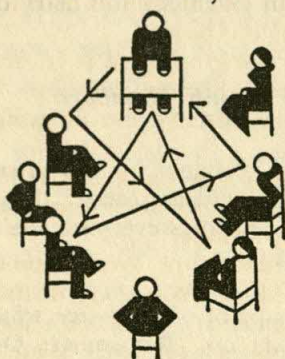
6. Indulge in friendly disagreement.

When you find that you're on the other side of the fence from the discussion, say so and tell why. But disagree in a *friendly* way. There's one truth that everyone's after. Good-humored discussion leads part way there.

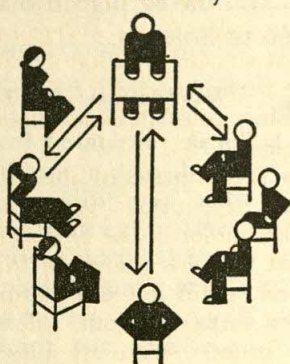
7. Strike while the idea is hot.

Don't wait for the leader to recognize you before speaking. If several want to speak at once, it's his job to grant the floor to one, give the others a chance later. Your ideal discussion—

Goes this way:



Not this way:



8. Come to the discussion with questions in mind.

Make note of questions and points of disagreement that occur to you during advance reading or listening, and raise them during the discussion. Farm papers, the daily press, lectures, public forums, the radio, etc., are good sources for clippings and notes to be used at discussion meetings.

9. Go ahead from discussion to study.

Remember that discussion is just the first step—an important one, but still just a starter. If your thinking is stirred up by the discussion here, seek out materials for further study on the problems.

10. Why not group discussion at home?

Criteria for evaluating group discussion must be adapted to the purpose of the discussion. These are general questions that the

group considers together as they think about, "How well are we doing in handling ideas in this group?"

Were the problems clearly stated? How did they get stated? Did the group help in the statement and clarification of problems?

Did we extend, deepen, or gain additional insights about the problem we discussed?

Did discussion move from "Who shall prevail?" to "What shall we do?"

Did we come to decisions understood by group members? Were we able to accept responsibility for implementing decisions?

Were we able to communicate our ideas so that they carried common meaning to all the group?

What was the quality of the participation? Were individuals able to disagree without being disagreeable? Was the participation widespread? Were silences used to consolidate agreements? Were responses on the beam?

What was the quality of leadership in the group? Was it centered in one person or did it evolve as group tasks became clear-cut? Were leadership roles flexible enough to allow effective use of group resources?

Was the climate of the group conducive to frank expression of opinions and ideas? Were silent members drawn in as contributors? Was the humor of the type to build group morale?

What was the quality of thinking in the group? Was it problem-centered or did it focus around personalities? Was there distinction between facts, opinions, inferences, judgments? Were data used to clarify issues? Were all sides of the problem explored? Were individuals who espoused various sides held in equal esteem?

How were decisions made? Was there consensus, majority rule, or rule by the status leader? Did commitments accompany decisions? Were consequences for decisions tested during the process of decision-making? Was it clear who was bound by the decision?

The following materials are helpful to teachers who are eager to improve their techniques of group discussion:

Adult Leadership Journal, Monthly magazine published by the Adult Education Division of National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

Conference Sense, Bureau of Naval Personnel, U. S. Navy, 1950.

How to Use Group Discussion, Number 6. How to Do It Series of the National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C.

Let's Discuss It, Ohio State University Discussion Service, Columbus, Ohio.



"I am, too, right!"

Let's Have a Discussion, The Junior Town Meeting League, 400 South Front Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

The News Letter, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

What Policies Should Guide the Handling of Controversial Issues?, Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, National Education Association, June 1954.

Role-Playing in Sociodrama

People have been playing roles since the beginning of recorded time. Social psychology in recent years has developed for the playing of roles uses that enable us to understand more completely human motivations in specific situations and give us greater insight into how others feel. Modern role-playing is a distant cousin of the performance of rituals of tribal man as he enacted his concepts of the behaviors of the gods he worshiped. Through the ages this family of concepts has grown until today we have creative dramatics, formal dramatics, spontaneous play of children, sociodrama, psychodrama, play therapy, and group therapy. All these related techniques have this characteristic in common—the projection of one's own personality into situations out of which comes the identification of one's own wishes, motivations, fears, values, and insights.



Role-playing is a valuable teaching technique, for it enables the player to become totally involved. It goes beyond the "talking about" stage and actually enacts the way something happened as it appears to the player. We are discussing the kind of role-playing used in sociodrama. Sociodrama is the spontaneous enactment of social situations for the purpose of gaining additional understandings about the concerns and motives of individuals involved in the situations. It differs from psychodrama in that the situations are neither deeply personal, nor do they involve the kind of intimate experiences that we are reluctant to share with others. A fine line of distinction must be drawn between psychodrama and sociodrama. Sometimes a sociodrama shows signs of turning into a psychodrama. Then the teacher cuts the role-playing to avoid a traumatic experience for the player. The spontaneous play of children differs from sociodrama because it is completely unstructured and is not used in any organized way

for purposes of learning by the group. This is not to say that a group of children do not learn from the spontaneous playing they do. Play therapy and group therapy use role-playing for bringing about better adjustment of individuals who are primarily seeking therapy. Again we have to recognize that in all role-playing there is an element of therapy, but our primary purpose in sociodrama is not therapy.

Let us turn our attention to the purposes for which sociodrama may be used in the classroom. Sociodrama may be used to try out several solutions to a problem facing the group for the purpose of finding the solution that carries consequences tolerable to the group. Sociodrama for this purpose is structured so that each solution will be as nearly realistic as can be arranged and will have in it those factors that need to be looked at. Let's suppose that a group has difficulty living up to its time schedules. One structured situation is played in which the teacher punishes the total group for the negligence of two or three members. This is discussed in terms of consequences. Players are interviewed to see how they felt about the way in which the situation was handled. A member of the group plays the role of the teacher (reverse roles) and thus has an opportunity to begin to feel how the teacher feels. Another structured situation is played. This time the teacher punishes the individuals who are causing the trouble. Again discussion is held in terms of consequences. "What does this do to the group? How do you feel about the punishment Tom was given?" A third playing is structured to show the group itself discussing the problem and devising some ways to handle their difficulty. These represent three alternative solutions to a group problem. Many more might be played out if the group thinks of other solutions that hold promise. All solutions are discussed, not as abstract situations but by looking at the results that have been played out before the total group. Feelings are assessed; long-term consequences are projected. The group makes its decision in terms of the data developed during the role-playing, a large part of which are the feelings of the individuals involved and the effects those feelings have upon the group.

Another use for sociodrama is to help individuals gain insight into their values, feelings, and motivations. When this is our

purpose, we do not structure responses. We simply set the situation and seek responses as individuals give them spontaneously. We have a group of children who are becoming careless and somewhat malicious in the kind of rumor that they are spreading around. The teacher develops a situation, or it may grow directly out of the group itself, in which this problem is looked at through the means of role-playing. As the playing continues, those who have been gossiping are encouraged to volunteer to play the role of the child who is being maligned. Their feelings are examined and they have an opportunity to put themselves in the place of one who is being scapegoated. The teacher gives no value judgments about the various feelings and values that are exposed, for if he does the children respond as they feel the teacher wishes them to respond, and we have no sociodrama.

Steps in sociodrama

Sociodrama has four steps that blend into one another so that those who are role-playing are not consciously aware of the steps. First comes a general discussion about the situation. This is called the warm-up. In this discussion, the factors being dealt with are brought out just enough to give the players a sense of knowing the problem. We avoid too much discussion as it takes the edge off the playing. The stage is set with whatever props are necessary to make the playing easier and more definite. These "props" are limited to whatever is at hand to use—a table, chair, books, toys. If the situation is one in which solutions to problems are sought, the individuals who are going to try out different solutions are sent from the room so that each individual will approach the situation fresh.

The second step is the enactment of the situation. The teacher watches this enactment and "cuts" the playing at any moment that seems productive for the purposes at hand.

The third step is interviewing the players to see how they felt as they were playing and what their interpretations are of what they were doing. This leads into group discussion of the consequences of the solution offered in the enactment.

Finally comes re-enactment with interviewing and discussion following. In role-playing we are not seeking to establish *an* answer as the right one. We find that many satisfactory solutions

are possible to nearly every situation involving people and that each solution carries with it negative and positive connotations. Our purpose is to examine these negative and positive elements in the light of our individual and group feelings to find solutions that are tolerable to us—ones with which we wish to live.

Teacher's role in sociodrama

The teacher's role is to help the group draw out of its role-playing as many learnings as they are ready to assimilate. One powerful learning that comes is that we have to accept the consequences of our behavior. As we project some of those consequences into the situations being enacted, we have an opportunity to assess the multiple effects of behavior upon individuals and groups. Another learning that comes are appreciations of the great differences in the perceptions of individuals who are involved in the same set of circumstances. As



children and youth begin to look at their problems through the eyes of their own peers and of adults, they develop more understanding of and tolerance for different points of view. A third learning is that in human affairs there are seldom right answers or solutions; there are only solutions that seem more promising, more appropriate, less hurtful, more tolerable to be lived with. A fourth powerful learning is the insight that the individual little by little gains about his own motivations and values. All these learnings are powerful and therefore dangerous. Unless skillfully timed and guided, they can hurt individuals and set groups "clawing" each other. We believe this is no appropriate reason to reject or discard the technique. Rather, it is a challenge to learn to use the technique so that great good comes from it.

Another role of the teacher is to develop situations or problems that are pertinent to the problems of the group. One method of presenting these problems is through the problem story.⁵ The teacher develops a story or finds a story that has in it the elements that need to be looked at by this particular group. He may read or tell the story to a climactical point and then open the story for

⁵ George and Fannie R. Shaftel, *Role Playing the Problem Story* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952).

playing out the ending. Many endings are suggested. They are role-played; interviewing and discussion ensues and consequences are assessed. Or the teacher may consider it wise to open a discussion with the group about some of their own behavior and suggest playing out some of the situations in various ways.

An important role of the teacher is so to contrive situations and be in control of them that no one is harmed. Situations that are of common interest, growing out of common experiences of the group, are appropriate for public examination. We do not deal with problems such as deviate sex behavior and stealing that are unique to one member of the group, or with those problems that judgment tells us require the training of an analyst or psychiatrist. We take care that individuals who we know are having serious emotional difficulties are not placed in role-playing situations that yield criticism or cause them to have responses difficult for them to handle.

Some situations that may be role-played in sociodrama

Two individuals get in a fight on the playground. Each is sure that he is right and that the other individual is wrong. Reverse roles and re-enact the situation.

Jack and Bill get into mischief that disturbs the group. This is the third time in one day. The rest of the group are trying hard to finish up a project. Work out several solutions to the problem in structured sociodrama.

Mother and father insist that Jane must be home thirty minutes after the dance is over. The rest of the gang go to a drive-in for a snack and usually "goof around" until two or three in the morning. Play the situation with Jane taking her own role and then reverse roles.



Randy wants to drop out of school. The guidance counselor is trying to discover his real reason and help him to understand his motivation. Structure a number of ways to play this out.

Bill wants the car for his date tonight. Bill's mother has planned to use the car to go to club meeting. Dad is appealed to as an arbitrator. Tempers are high. Words are flung at each other. Play spontaneously reversing roles.

Louise is left out of all the parties given by the children in her room. She's fat and dresses in poor taste. She walks in on a group of four describing the fun they had at Jane's party last night. Play it from here.

The twelve-year-old girls in Miss Jones' room have ganged up on Susie who is a tomboy. They tease her, hide her possessions, call her names, and taunt her for playing with the younger boys. Structure a number of solutions to be enacted.

Fourteen-year-old Bob insists on roaming the classroom and talking whenever it pleases him. The teacher has asked him to sit down. Bob replies defiantly, "You make me." Pick it up from here.

The school's backyard is surrounded by city apartment buildings with many unfriendly neighbors. They object to the noise, the inter-racial composition of our school, the way the children play. How can we live with our neighbors and help them understand us?

The following materials are helpful to teachers who wish more information about role-playing in sociodrama:

Alex Bavelas, "Some Comments on the Uses of Role Playing," in *Sociatry*, June 1947.

Helen Hall Jennings, "Sociodrama as Educative Process," in *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, 1950 Yearbook, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

George and Fannie R. Shaftel, *Role Playing the Problem Story*. New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

18

Characteristics of group living for various ages

THE content of group life must be consistent with the developmental needs of the group. If it is consistent indeed, we may be sure that the group behavior of children will be completely "lawful." Harmony prevails and growth is active when arrangements are appropriate to the developmental needs and concerns of the children, and the purposes and activities of adult leadership are consistent with them. When the physical and social environment or adult expectancies are contrary to the interests and developmental tasks¹ of the group, we may expect bedlam, the sickly near-absence of life, or the fawning acquiescence that develops into dependency upon dictatorship. Needs can be roughly categorized according to the ages of the group members. This chapter is a brief description of the content of group living for preschool-age children (three- to five-year-olds), primary-age children (five- to nine-year-olds), intermediate-age children (nine- to eleven-year-olds), pre-adolescent (eleven- to fourteen-year-olds), and adolescents (fourteen- to nineteen-year-olds).

Group Living for Preschool-Age Children

The three- to five-year-olds are confronted with developmental tasks almost wholly social in nature. By the age of three the child has learned to walk, to talk, to eat with a reasonable degree

¹ A thorough discussion of the concept of developmental tasks is presented in Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*.



*Courtesy Highcrest School, Wilmette Public
Schools, Wilmette, Illinois*



*Courtesy Highcrest School, Wilmette Public
Schools, Wilmette, Illinois*

of ease for his mother, to distinguish between the sexes, and to control reasonably well his bodily functions. As the three-year-old first comes into contact with a group larger than his family, he has a number of social adjustments to make. He finds he must share one adult's attention with all the other boys and girls. He must share his toys and be just one among others who also have wishes and rights. He must decide how he feels about the other girls and boys and begin to sense how they feel about him and about themselves. He is no longer cute regardless of what he does. He is developing a self and beginning to develop a self-other outlook.



Group living for these little ones is centered in their play. The meaning of their play has significance for the child. Through play he enacts many roles of the adults of his world as he sees them, he plays out the problems concerning him, he casts himself in those roles with which he seeks identification. The child's choices for play are selective and carry emotional components. The emotion may be a positive one of love or a negative one of fear or anger. The child who assumes the role of the doctor administering shots may be reducing the fear he feels as the doctor sticks the needle in him, he may be assuming the role of one whom he wishes to imitate, or he may be passing on his resentment about being hurt to someone he wishes to hurt.

Play is the child's language. What he lacks in verbal facility, he makes up through using his total body in expressing his feelings. Our job as adults is to help free him to release through play his tensions, frustrations, and fears as well as his joys and hopes. Four-year-old Tony illustrates the meaning of children's play. His teacher says:

The doll corner attracted Tony first. There was a little girl in the doll corner playing with the dolls. Tony walked in and took the role of a mother. He dressed a doll, wrapped it in a blanket and took the doll to the window, saying to the doll, "Look, the little boys and girls are having a good time playing in the yard. Would you like to go out and play with them?" He stood by the window with the doll for a while, returned to the doll corner and put the doll in bed, and said, "I know you are tired, Mommie wants you to rest." He was relaxed and happy in this activity. He didn't notice what

the other child was doing in the area, but spoke to her several times.

A talk with his mother this week gave me the clue as to the cause for his special interest in playing with dolls at school, and asking for a doll to play with at home. His aunt went to the hospital; when she returned she had a cute little baby that Tony likes very much. To Tony thereafter the word hospital meant baby. When his mother suddenly rushed to the hospital, he thought she would return with a baby. He didn't understand that his aunt was expecting a baby before she went to the hospital. When his mother came home, he asked, "Where is the baby?" Of course he was told his mother didn't have a baby.



Later he asked his mother to buy him a doll. She bought the doll. At home as in school Tony gave much of his time playing with dolls for over a week. It seems that whatever feeling he had about having a baby in the home was expressed in a week by playing with dolls. At home or school he hasn't shown much interest in doll play for the past week.

A child this age pretends to be an animal or a toy and may assign to this object the behavior his own conscious self won't allow him to enact. Thus, while enacting the role of a dog for a limited time, he may be destructive of property, bite adults, and indulge in non-acceptable behavior. Such play re-occurring frequently is a red flag to the observant teacher. The behavior may reveal rigid standards of behavior against which the child is rebelling, resentment against being left out, or any other factor that the child cannot tolerate.

One cannot be sure what is revealed, for a major function of play is to disguise reality. When one watches a child enact a mother's role, is he seeing the way the mother treats the child, or the way the child wishes his mother treated him, or the way the child expects his mother to treat him? Multiple motivations function in almost all play situations.

Many aspects of the child's behavior give clues worth noting. As clues accumulate, patterns emerge that have meaning for the child's development. Watch, for instance, how a child uses materials. Does the play involve progression with materials, or does it become fixed at one level? In *The Quiet One*, as Donald worked in clay, he could not go beyond a certain point in fashion-

ing the bowl. Some children build the same house each day as they play with blocks and promptly knock it down. If no progression results, what is the child trying to tell us?

Watch the spontaneous choices of partners in play. Who chooses whom and for what? One sensitive boy chose for his playmate the largest boy in the class. He sought a buddy who made it unnecessary for him to engage in physical combat and in so doing expressed a choice that became a pattern of his development. This youngster was never known to fight. Yet he held the respect of his playmates. Note how extensively children shift playmates. Some three-year-olds seem to be aware only of one other person in the group. Others shift casually from one group to another with little preference being indicated. Some choose only adults and some choose not at all.

Watch major regressions in maturity levels for they indicate disturbances. If the five-year-old suddenly reverts to playing baby roles, the teacher is alerted to the presence of frustration, and begins to watch more closely for clues to the causes of his unhappiness.

A preschool group usually seems to be a collection of individuals or pairs working (grown-ups call it playing) in proximity. The wise teacher avoids stimulating all to want what only a few can have, such as a lone tricycle. At this age the attention of the whole group can be attracted and held to one activity for a short time only. Individual concerns are more urgent than the more distant gratifications of group enterprise. Lest we teach a distaste for the group situation, we avoid the accusing implication that a little child should defer at length to his group. However, the teacher finds some genuine occasions for group behavior such as short discussions on "Where shall we go on our walk?" when all must go together, the quiet time when some need to rest in restricted space, the sharing in the simpler aspects of housekeeping, short-term activities of singing and dancing. We expect to find little extended group enterprise and solidarity among preschoolers.

Group Living for Primary Children

The developmental tasks of the five- to nine-year-olds are a continuation of preschool tasks. Working out his social relation-

ships continues to be a consuming interest for the child. At this stage he distinguishes more readily, but not completely, between fancy and reality, and his developing conscience assumes more significance as a regulator of behavior.

As he enters school, the child has to learn what this social institution expects of him. His space is greatly limited and his bodily movement hampered. We recall the story of the six-year-old who complained at the end of the first day that they took away his playtime, sat him down at a desk, and wouldn't even let him talk. Another little fellow after an over-stimulated day at school remarked to his mother, "This is the first time I've had a chance to let my mind sit down."

Group living for primary-age children is largely a matter of direct exploration of a wide variety of situations. The school-age child has to learn how to get in and out of the room, how to get his wraps off quickly (or how to defer loathed activities by undressing endlessly), where to keep his wraps, which hanger and cubby is his, what to do when he wants to go to the toilet, how to use books (and, we hope, a wide variety of other materials), to take notes home to mother, and to bring notes and money back to teacher. He has to learn how to play in organized, formal games, to keep quiet certain times of the day, and to be properly noisy at other times. He has to learn many routines and a schedule that may or may not be compatible with his interests.

The primary child as he enters school requires certain characteristics in his group living. He wants some time in each day completely free to use as he wishes. The child needs this to offset the highly organized aspects of the rest of his living. As much flexibility as possible is desirable when this free time occurs. During this time the teacher remains in the background observing the ways in which children use unscheduled time, noting with whom and at what they play. One group of children called this their "work time."

Another important phase of primary school living is responsibilities for group well-being and effectiveness. Care of the room, care of plants, arrangement of bulletin boards and display corners, care of play materials, care of animals utilize individual energy for group living. This is a crucial age for developing the sense

that others depend upon us. The right to responsibility is essential in our schools when so many homes are so organized that responsibility is not necessary. Let's make sure the responsibility makes a difference in the quality of living that goes on in each group. This concept must be learned first in small, firsthand experiences if it is to have abstract and vicarious meaning at the adult level.



A third quality of living needed by every primary child is the right of choice. Autocracy's secret weapon is the lack of choice in childhood and youth. To build character for democratic citizenship, we must organize, as well as seize, opportunities for children to make many choices each day. Let us warn that most choices are not between right and wrong or good and evil, but the selection of one way from several ways. From among several good plays we choose one to attend. From among a classroom of good friends we choose one to help corral the rabbit with no implication of having rejected the others. In a well-ordered classroom the child's school day involves many choices. With whom will he look through a new book? How will he spend the free fifteen minutes before lunch? Will he have an orange or an apple for lunch? What games will he join at recess?

Perhaps he plans with the other children and the teacher a trip that is to be taken. Many choices are made as a result of this experience. The teacher makes sure that these choices are not all individual ones. Many of them are group choices requiring a balancing of pros and cons. Through thousands of choosing experiences, the six-year-old is building the kind of skill necessary for effective satisfaction in a democracy.

At this stage of development it is crucial that the child learn that he can do something about the quality of his own living; that he does not accept life just as it is "dished out" to him. We know many adults who have never learned this fact of life, and who have continued either a servile obsequiousness or a hostile struggle with families, neighbors, fellow workers.

A fourth characteristic that should be guaranteed each child is the right to be himself. This right encompasses the freedom to be different, to proceed at his own rate of growth, to reveal his

disturbances. Too much routinization and standardization in early childhood develops tension and restraints so severe that the child's personality may be affected throughout life.

Note how skillfully in the following episode the teacher of six-year-olds was helping them develop their capacity for choice and responsibility, and yet allowing them to be themselves:

MISS DREW: What do you think we ought to do this morning during our work time?

RESPONSE OF ONE CHILD: We could make a scrapbook.

MISS DREW: Yes, some people are interested in that.

ANOTHER CHILD: We could practice writing.

MISS DREW: Some people do want to write.

ANOTHER CHILD: We could color.

MISS DREW: Stephen, what are you going to do this morning?

STEPHEN: I am going to paint on the big picture.

Children give an enthusiastic response to the idea of painting.

MISS DREW: How many people would like to paint at the easels? (Many hands go up.) Do you think we could paint at the big picture without disturbing the other children?

CHILDREN: Yes! Yes!

MISS DREW: How many people do you think we could have working on the big picture?

CHILDREN: Four. One on each side and two in the middle.

MISS DREW: That might be just enough so it doesn't get too crowded. Who hasn't done anything on the mural? (The hands of Mamie and Betty go up.) Mamie, you and Betty may work on the mural.

DAVID: Miss Drew, may I paint on my own drawing? You said I could.

MISS DREW: You may paint your own work. (Everyone decides he wants to work on the mural.) How many people did we say we could have painting up there at once? Can everyone go up at once and have four?

CHILDREN: No.

MISS DREW: Why not?

CHILDREN: There isn't enough pictures to paint.

MISS DREW: Why else?

CHILDREN: The paint would drip all over the other pictures. The paint might spill. We might have accidents.

MISS DREW: We've already said Mamie, David, Betty, and Stephen. That's four, isn't it? Does that mean the rest of you won't have a chance to paint at all up there?

CHILDREN: Maybe when they are finished, we can go up or go another work time.



MISS DREW: What must we remember when we work?

CHILDREN: Don't disturb the others who are doing other work.

Children start work at mural and the rest of the children paint at easels or practice writing or read. Miss Drew is helping the ones not at the mural when David calls out, "Miss Drew, is this right?"

MISS DREW: Is this a good time to ask me, David? Why not?

And so the morning went with Miss Drew tossing the children's questions back to them to answer by their own thoughtful choices. During the hour or so we spent in this room we felt an atmosphere of calm assurance on the part of the children. There were but two hostile acts during our visit and many, many acts of helpfulness. Children decided when it was appropriate to talk in low and loud voices, where to place their easels so they wouldn't get knocked down, what the disadvantages were of talking with their mouths full of chewing gum, what colors to use, who should have the crayons, why clams live in shells, what tickets are and what they are used for, and where a metal box could be bought.

Group Living for Intermediate-Age Children

The nine- to eleven-year-old is characterized by an urgent drive *to know*. The child of this age is trying to establish boundaries to his world. The world is his oyster and he means to explore it. He trails toy automobiles, trucks, airplanes, and she trails pocket books, pretty shoes, and other adult finery. His questions are many and largely unorganized. His developmental tasks are broadened to include the formation of attitudes toward such social institutions as the school and the church, the winning of personal independence from his parents (he seeks freedom of movement), the acquisition of skills, and new importance of peer standards.

The intermediate-age child needs the same conditions in group living as does the primary child, but these needs function in more complex situations. Group living for intermediate-age children is more highly organized than at any other time short of adulthood. This age seeks formality in their groups. Note the elaborate rituals of the gangs of this age. Boys who scorn any semblance of civilization as interpreted by their mothers go to great lengths to address each other as, "Your most obedient servant," or "Sir Knight of the Royal Order of Rattlesnakes." Lengthy

ceremonials are memorized by youngsters who are the despair of their teachers and whom the school may brand as slow-learners.

The wise teacher works with this characteristic by encouraging an organization of the school day that utilizes the club interests of older elementary children. Roles that are assumed as real are recognized by the teacher in a matter-of-fact way. The



teacher does not question that Harry is a knight, or an explorer, or a mountain climber. She accepts the fact that Peggy is Florence Nightingale or Joan of Arc or Queen Elizabeth. A friend recounted this delightful story illustrating the reality of roles for this age. As a counselor was working with a group of nine-year-olds in a community center, one youngster politely held out his thin, scrawny hand in which there was a besmudged calling card.

Inscribed on it were these words:

JERRY WALKER

9 years old

Dogs walked

Nominal fee

Interests of this age are so varied that the curriculum is difficult to plot ahead, but if teacher and children understand each other, little systematic planning is necessary. There's no excuse for a child to be bored with school during this age, for the school has an infinite variety of interests represented in its child population. At this age the unruly child is certainly a bored child. Sequence of learning means little to the intermediate child for he is not ready to organize his learning. He is reaching out in multiple directions.

Experiences, to be in keeping with developmental tasks, are exploratory of whatever the group wishes to explore—they require the acquisition of many skills and they are concerned with specifics. The group living focus is primarily one of *doing*. The group takes trips, carries on interviews, makes surveys, draws up constitutions, organizes work days and special projects, collects snakes or stamps or playing cards. The group learns dozens of organized games, swimming, boxing, and other skills.

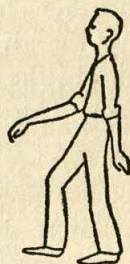
The characteristic of group living that bursts into bloom at this age is the need to form clubs or gangs and still be respectable.

With the disappearance of the vacant lot, this is becoming quite difficult. Adults, by failing to provide facilities for club hang-outs, force them to operate secretly. We recommend that a few trees be left on the school grounds for tree houses and that some old tires and packing boxes be piled up to form appropriate club quarters which boys and girls of ten recognize as invitations for gang homes. The adult working with this age has to be able to feel the importance for this age of projecting himself into the roles of adults who challenge the imagination, stir the courageous, and who seek great goods for people.

Group Living for Pre-Adolescents

The eleven- to fourteen-year-old is designated by psychology texts as pre-adolescent. Parents call it a phase and mean that it is a time when the "nicest children behave in the most awful and inexplicable ways." This is probably the age about which we know the least. It's the age during which there is an upsurge in referrals to child guidance clinics. We have fewer trained professionals interested in working with this age.

The age is characterized by great physical restlessness. Running is more usual than walking. A chair is something to lean on or wind oneself around—never to sit on. Uneven body growth causes awkwardness and accidents occur frequently with parents' precious, fragile possessions. Appetites are ravenous but erratic. Giggling, sudden crushes, brashness, irritability, day-dreaming are expected behaviors of this age. It's safer at this time to be in love with Eddie Fisher than with the boy next door. Adult time and space demands are likely to be ignored. Pre-adolescents are seeking achievements in areas in which they lack skill so they are frequently frustrated and inclined to dream bigger than they can accomplish. Redl² has described this age as a period of disorganization when the child's well-knit personality pattern begins to break up so that new behaviors may be built into it.³



² Fritz Redl, *Pre-Adolescents: What Makes Them Tick?* (New York: Child Study Association of America), pamphlet.

³ Read again Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer and William Allen White's *The Court of Boyville*.

The physiological drive of the pre-adolescent is comparable to the psychological drive of the later elementary child. Understanding the physical changes he is undergoing, defining his role as male or female, establishing new relationships with his age-mates, and achieving his emotional independence from adults are the developmental tasks of this age. These tasks are so complex and compelling that they eliminate nearly all other considerations. We find few intellectuals among them, and those few are most unpromising for subsequent adjustment.

Group living for this age as it goes on in school either recognizes these concerns and characteristics as valid and consuming or else we find ourselves frustrated because we don't receive a response from the youngsters. They are frustrated because they consider us unreasonable. Formal, organized groups as adults know them are not compatible with this age. Friendships are usually intense and often of short duration. Group activities that pre-adolescents organize for themselves seem aimless and about to fall apart. The important thing is to get together and just "mess around." Attempts to push them into games, to dance or play games are resisted vigorously.

The mother of a thirteen-year-old girl spent many evenings with her daughter planning and replanning a Hallowe'en party that the girl was giving for her friends. Hours were spent discussing the party. Games were planned and food was decided upon. Most of this planning was initiated by the teen-ager. How surprised the mother was when she discovered that none of the plans (except the consumption of the food) was carried out. The kids arrived from an hour to two hours later than they were invited. When they got together they just sat around and listened to the record player and giggled and visited a bit. One or two of the couples danced. They descended upon the kitchen like locusts, ate all the food, and abruptly departed.

It seems obvious that the school program must be fairly relaxed during these years and the content of the program should be centered upon the problems facing the youngster. He is avid for information about growth, about what makes people behave as they do. This is an excellent time to introduce some elementary psychology into the curriculum. The school may need to give considerable help in defining the appropriate behavior for boys

and girls as they assume new relations with each other. Since it is necessary for the pre-adolescent to win his emotional independence from his parents, an understanding teacher is to be cherished for this age. The boy or girl needs to continue his ego development through identification. If he has a teacher to whom he can talk, and whom he respects, his transition into adolescence comes much easier.

Standards are the bug-a-boo of this age. Their own standards are inflexible; adult standards are aggressions to be met and defeated or circumvented. We succeed in alienating ourselves from the pre-adolescent if we expect him to turn out products with high standards. The more formal school tasks of writing and reading are irksome if they must be done with regard for form and fineness. If he is allowed, however, to express himself in the way he feels, we secure some cherished insights into a human being's capacity to create. This is a creative age.

If the pre-adolescent decides that adults, especially teacher-adults, are all a "bunch of fuddy-duddies," his attitudes are likely to continue over into his adolescence and we have lost any opportunity we may have had to guide and stimulate these immature people. We might ask ourselves if this is one of the reasons why our culture today retains so much of its adolescent quality.

This is a time of rapid change. At this time of life, the mere fact of adult opposition to any behavior tends to emphasize and prolong the behavior more than at any other period of life. Adults who would continue to be respected authorities and trusted friends will be wary of making an absolute issue of aspects of pre-adolescents' behavior. Being neither children nor adults, they oscillate between appealing dependency and aggressive independence. The same thing can be said about their behavior that people of many regions say of their weather, "If you don't like it, wait a minute."

Group Living of Adolescents

These fourteen- to nineteen-year-olds are young adults. Their group living demands a recognition of this fact. Their developmental tasks are looking toward adulthood. They are seeking economic independence, are selecting and preparing for a vocation, are considering marriage, are developing intellectual skills

and civic competency, and are developing a philosophy of life. In our time and culture they have no money of their own, no space, indoors or out, to manage. They are "kept" people.

The choices made available to adolescents in their group living should encompass practically all the choices adults have to make. Group planning and group discussion should characterize all aspects of the program. Every effort should be made to work on problems that lend themselves to some kind of action so that learning comes to have real meaning. If, for instance, city government is studied, the study is not about the form and structure of the city government alone, but includes some of the vital, live issues with which the city council is now wrestling and some knowledge of who really makes decisions, and how. In making studies, surveys of opinion, collection of data, open forums and the like are actually carried on by the students so that they are functioning as citizens of their community.

The school is considered a miniature community and adolescents are given the opportunity to manage it. This community should be as nearly self-sustaining as good judgment and practical realities allow. School codes; student government; selecting leaders; maintaining communication within the school; planning, organizing, and carrying out special functions such as class days, school parties, and the like should be student-managed with the minimum of adult imposition. If group living has been adequate during the preceding portion of the youngster's school life, adolescents will be capable of making these decisions and carrying through on the plans made. The manner in which high school youngsters are able to manage their own affairs is really the criteria of the quality of group living of the rest of the school experience.

The adolescent gives virtually all his attention to his social life, to his relationships with peer groups. Smaller children are pests, grown-ups are sour-pusses. The acceptable adult is considered to be unusual, a good egg. Parents and teachers must know this fact, and like it. The adolescent's attitude toward one another and toward adults is expressed in absolutes.

The adolescent boy begins to make his way with girls who have been waiting for him for a year or two. They have to find out without loss of caste and self-esteem how to manage the new tasks of asking for dates, calling for a girl, escorting her to social affairs

and about the town, how to be a big-wheel with limited money, how to talk with a girl's folks, how to decide whether a good-night kiss is in order, how to discern whether a slap is an act of affection or rejection. Girls have perplexities, too—how to let the boy know she'd welcome a call, how to break a prom date with a "drip" when the "all-gone guy" calls late, how to be good and have a good time, to smooch or not to smooch. Of late many adolescents have been troubled about following genuine intellectual interests and avoid being called "egg head." Secondary-school teachers must accept the fact that these problems are more acute and more important than any that can be posed in science or in any other school subject, and that they are not antagonistic to intellectual development.



The school that would touch positively the lives of adolescents places high premium on the importance of resolving these problems. It supplies for adolescents access to adults who can listen without moralizing, who can ease wounded prides, put soothing salves on irritated egos. The seriousness which youth attaches to these problems is set forth by an article recently published by *Life* entitled "High School Sets New High Style." This article tells the story of the irate father accusing the clothing store of taking advantage of his son in selling him a "high style" suit of glowing neon-blue. When the manager offered to return the money, or to sell him another suit the boy ". . . whose resentful face was now flushed deep with humiliation and smouldering anger, shook his head determinedly, 'this is the outfit I want and the one I'm going to have. I don't care what Pa or Ma or anyone else thinks—it's my money.'" He kept the suit.⁴

Helen is a fairly typical example of the need adolescents feel for understanding adults. She was an attractive, happy girl until she became an adolescent. Her desire to keep up with her girl friends caused some friction since her family had little money to spend on modish clothes. Helen's mother was concerned, but was passive. The father, feeling that he was inadequate in being unable to meet Helen's desires, vented his resulting aggression in criticizing her behavior and her friends. At one time he for-

⁴ Rudolph Elie, "High School Sets New High Style," *Life*, January 25, 1954, pp. 133-134.

bade Helen to see her best friend, Arline, and ordered her to return the portable radio her friend had given her for Christmas. Helen kept the radio and continued to see Arline, at first surreptitiously. Later father learned of Helen's continued friendship with Arline, continued to frown upon it, but did not know how to force her to do his bidding. Luckily, Helen had a teacher in whom she felt secure in confiding. Together they planned some constructive ways for softening Helen's hostility toward her father, and toward herself. The school's program included opportunities for discussion of problems faced by adolescents. This helped Helen learn that her problems were not unusual, that her father was not abnormal. Role-playing was introduced. In playing the roles of her father, of Arline, of her mother, Helen was able to discern their problems and to see that her own were not rare, but the concerns of most of the group.

As this is written we hear much adult screaming about the depredations, destruction, lawlessness of gangs of adolescents. The reality and severity of these problems cannot be denied nor ignored. Adults, however, must face the fact that at no time in



human history has the adult world won a declared war on youth. Our youth today are biologically adult. They lack money, votes, and status. They are herded into high schools so huge as to require excessive regimentation and adult management for which adolescents have scant toleration. It is likely, however, that the prime source of motivation for the anti-social behavior of adolescent gangs is the sup-

pression of harmless ganging among pre-adolescents. The gang life, so important to the pre-adolescent, if pushed underground by being branded as not respectable, even indecent, will flourish later when youngsters become large and daring enough to defy their elders. Much of criminal ganging began as forbidden games of "cops and robbers" with neighbors and policemen playing their unrecognized roles. As adolescents and young adults they have enough skill and know-how to gain feelings of success in taking out their feelings of hostility against all adult society.

A member of a notorious city gang, once he confided in a trusted adult, made this statement about his gang:

I am a member of a gang. Don't be so surprised. Lots of you are too. There's nothing wrong in being a member of a gang. Let me tell you what I mean. When man was no better than the animals, he lived in caves—all by himself. Then, he realized he needed help to fight the monsters of the forest, to build protection against the rains and so—just as he saw the wolves form packs and the birds flock together—he formed tribes. From these tribes grew villages, then cities, and finally nations. We still live in a time when nations fight one another for trade routes, for control of less fortunate and poorer nations. Nations have not learned to live in peace because some of them are hungry, some of them need clothing, some of them need land. My gang is a small nation. We sign peace treaties with other gangs and we declare war when one of our citizens is attacked. Maybe if all my gang had the good things of life we would not need to rob. Maybe if all other gangs had the good things of life, they would not try to rob from us. Maybe if there were a United Gangs, we could live in peace.

I learn a lot about getting along with people in my gang and that helps me get along with people outside my gang. And, of course, if I can't get along with them, there's always my gang to take my part. That's an important thing to a person, to feel that he is not alone. When you belong to a gang you have friends. If you have trouble, you share it so that makes it easier to bear. If you have joy, you share that too and your pleasure doubles when you see your friend is happy. That's what it means to me to be a Ranger.

The logic of this lad cannot be laughed off. He sees the adult world as carrying on in respectable organized ways the same kinds of acts for which his gang is censured.

It is apparent that fraternities and sororities and other excluding organizations flourish particularly in schools and neighborhoods in which adults dominate the time and activities of youth too greatly. Adolescents find means, fair or foul, to be associated with each other in circumstances that they control. Much of the "staying up until all hours" of the adolescent is an expression of the determination to have some time free from adult management and scrutiny.

Those of us who teach, whether it is little children with whom we live most of the day or adolescents whom we see for only an hour each day, must find ways to influence appreciably the lives

of our boys and girls. The task is infinitely more difficult when time, schedules, and attitudes are rigid. Sensitive teachers succeed in breaking through the circumstances that hamper their personal relations with pupils. An understanding of the prob-



lems that engross and consume the attention and energies of those we teach is as important for the high school physics teacher as it is for the teacher of six-year-olds. Only as we sense what is felt, what is ticking inside the individuals we teach, do we know what we teach.

Thus, *how* we teach is quite as important as *what* we teach. Latin and grammar come to have meaning as sensitive teachers become friends of youth—remembering the earnest intentness of the first formal date, the need of each one to create in the world of adults a niche that is his, the growing fear that perhaps he isn't as "tremendous" as he has made out he is.

19

Formation of groups

RECENTLY a group of children came to give a square dance demonstration before a class of college students. The four boys and girls were distributed age-wise in this manner.

Susan—age 8

Sally—age 11

Billy—age 10

June—age 11

Tom—age 11

Stella—age 12

Jim—age 11

Michael—age 13

There was a difference of at least twelve inches in height between Billy and Stella and Billy and Michael. This was a neighborhood group. All the boys danced with all the girls, apparently with enthusiasm and fun. Susan, the youngest, seemed as completely a part of the group as Michael, the oldest. Billy obviously didn't have as much energy as some of the rest, but the group managed this problem without embarrassment or lack of interest. Every once in a while someone would say, "Billy, are you tired?" or would push Billy down in a chair when he and his partner were not actively involved in the dance. Here was a group of boys and girls who liked to square dance, and so they were a group for that purpose. They grouped themselves naturally around an interest common to all of them.



We now know enough to study the extent to which we severely circumscribe children's opportunities for learning by the common practice of age-grade grouping. The state compels the child to attend school. There we place him with children of his own age. Unless he is a twin or an even more rare phenomenon of multiple birth, his previous associations have been with children of different

ages. Neighborhood, Sunday School, play groups have not emphasized age. His elders are not so limited in their associations that they cannot work or play with people more than twelve months older or younger than themselves.

The practice of arranging school groups of similarly aged and learned children was invented at a time when it was commonly believed that learning resulted primarily from instruction. Operating in accord with this concept, adults deemed it logical that those "in the know" and thus entitled to assume and maintain control should fix tasks and content for learning according to age. A school group, then, was made up of learners ready for the same instruction, the same tasks. Now that we have learned that the learning of the fundamentals of a culture takes place largely through the process of acculturation, we see the wisdom of the Creator in providing that the children of a human family are born one at a time rather than in litters.

Every thoughtful teacher knows that children learn far more from each other than from him. If all pupils are alike they have nothing to learn from each other, are thus likely to devote their energies to contention rather than to cooperation, to striving for excellence rather than for significance and value.

Age-Grade Grouping

In its brief history American education has tried many schemes for grouping children. In the little red schoolhouse, which was commonly white, were children from four or five years of age to eighteen. One teacher taught this variety of children what he thought they should know. We know of one school system that until lately grouped elementary school children by the month of mental age. Until recently, city school systems grouped children by the half-year of age. It would be possible for New York City to have a separate classroom group for every two hours of age. Gradually we have settled upon a twelve-month age span as correct and practical for a school group with appropriate modifications for children who grow significantly more rapidly or more slowly. Are we sure that twelve months is the optimum age span?

When not organized by adults, children seek association with an age range greater than twelve months. You may be quite sure

that a play group made up of children of like ages will indulge in much more yelling and contention to be "top dog" than a group of wider range. When we examine work and play groups outside of a school, we find age ranges that are quite flexible and wide. Neighborhood play groups encompass three to five years; they are made up of children clearly and recognizably different and thereby



free of implication that they should be alike. The high school graduate, upon taking a job, finds himself working in a group ranging a dozen or a score of years. His bowling team, his adult friends include people ten or more years older or younger than himself. Young teachers come into faculties averaging forty-five years of age with a range of thirty or forty years and are expected to work with them harmoniously even though their entire school experience has been limited to association with people of their own age. In most of a child's situations, greater age has meant superior status and has carried implication of authority in relationship with parents or teachers. Restricted age range restricts opportunities for learning and for significant group membership. A wider range of ages brings a wider range of experience and capacities, thus enriching opportunity for each individual for learning and for being valued rather than envied or patronized.

Some private schools, and a few public schools, have been experimenting with what is sometimes called inter-age grouping. They seek to provide in each group a range of differences which lend themselves to wholesome, cooperative learning experiences growing from related concerns of the children. They conceive learning to be a continuing process and know people to be the primary source of human learning. They eschew artifices for grouping children together on the basis of one factor (commonly chronological or mental age) even though the practice is administratively simple and uncritically entrenched. In England and New Zealand, family grouping is widely practiced. Family groups are composed of children representing the age range commonly found in the children of a family, four to six years. The programs of education carried on in countries of high illiteracy use children to teach their elders.

Enough now is known of the critical factors in development

and learning for educators to realize that the school must begin the transition from our present artificial and unproductive grouping into six or eight grades in the elementary school to two or three grades. The primary groups would include children from beginners through age eight, intermediate would range from nine to twelve, and upper elementary (junior high school, it is called) from twelve through fourteen. In terms of the moralistic judgments implicit in promotion and credit giving, it seems best to anticipate sending children from one "grade" to another according to age only.



"What is this word, son?"

Let us illustrate by proposing the organization of the primary groups. In the primary school we would find four or five teachers working together as a team with 100 or 125 children, or with more until school support becomes adequate. These teachers will have charge of neighboring rooms and will use common facilities and equipment. They will teach with their doors and hearts open to all the children. When this school is initially organized, the teachers will divide the children into groups of about equal size. They will so manage this division as to provide that the groups differ in average age. One will be made up largely of sevens and eights, another of fives and sixes, but all will include the full age range. At any time children may be shifted from one group to another—without implication of promotion or demotion—in quest of harmonious relationships among children, with individual teachers, and in terms of the social needs of the child. For instance, the emerging bully may be nudged toward a more adequate and tolerable way of life by placing him among children predominantly older than he. A highly excitable child may respond favorably to a group including some older, more placid children. Tommy who has always been youngest and littlest at home may need very much to be among younger and smaller children. Angie may be immature because she has had no real maturity in her life and thus needs to associate with more mature children. These shifts will be made by the team of teachers thinking together to contrive the group-cultural pull most promising for each child. An unusually gifted "not-yet" reader (and there are many) needs to be among children who have easy knack for

reading and who are glad to share their joy in it. The teachers will permit children who wish to be together to have a try at it.

This arrangement can be made for intermediate (nine to twelve years) and for the older children (twelve to fourteen). We hope the time will come when high schools will provide wider age spans in classes, particularly in areas coming to be known as common learnings. Indeed, it seems clear that interest and talents for specific high school subjects have little respect for age. The "sharks" in math, science, art, music, writing, are found among all ages from twelve upward.

Perhaps we shall return to the earlier wisdom of keeping older youngsters near and related to the tots. We now teach family life education from books and systematically prevent adolescents from knowing young children.

The team of teachers responsible for any one unit, knowing the children as people, make, in consultation, such shifts in grouping as individual and group needs indicate. In these mixed groups children are actually and clearly different in all aspects of growth and adjustment. In the mixed groups no one expects everyone to achieve even similar goals, do the same lessons, learn from the same books. Yet in large measure the learning has commonality because the experiences of being together have meaning for all in the group. Just as most of us discuss each day the United Nations, the blessings and perils of soap and water, the merits of radio and TV programs, the price of butter, the antics of Congress, and other significant topics in social groups that range thirty years or more in age, and take action on those affairs that concern us deeply, so the children in these groups discuss and act upon a variety of concerns in their living. In mixed grouping, teachers cannot escape the responsibility for providing opportunities for activities that engage the common interests and permit the participation of individuals with differing interests, resources, and abilities without attendant differences in value and respect.

In the primary or the intermediate school, each child has four or five teachers, each concerned with the child's adjustment and development and aware of his uniqueness. Each child calls one of these his own teacher. These teachers are selected with care so that each has unique skills valuable to young children. Children have the opportunity to live with teachers who can guide

them in music and rhythms, in a wide variety of arts and crafts, in the realm of science, and in hearty play. Some one of the team is up to the minute on the good new books for children as well as those that children have loved for generations.

This school does not assume that a child who delays reading until age seven or even eight will be a poor reader any more than



a baby who walks at sixteen months will grow into an awkward walker. These teachers know that there is slight relationship between brightness and the time of the emergence of the insights basic to learning the three R's. There is no temptation to any teacher to press for achievement of skills in order to please the "next" teacher or avoid her scorn. Remedial work,

that ill-conceived child of the graded school, is driven forever from the primary school and is seldom, if ever, needed in the intermediate school. Teachers in this school know that only the child with exceptional constitutional handicaps, or with a background of most unusual circumstances, will have failed to develop the basic insights and skills of the three R's by his ninth birthday.

The intermediate school is organized in much the same way as the primary school with such adjustments as are necessary for the developmental tasks of the age involved. Probably there is more departmentalization along lines of special interests, but this departmentalization is fluid in its functioning. For example, a group may report to a teacher who has unique capacities in science and outdoor education, but they report only so long as their interests hold them there. After a period of several weeks this same group may shift its interest to an exploration of the early settlers of the community. Thus in the intermediate school the organization of interest groups shifts from time to time and the organization is fluid enough to meet the needs and demands of the learners. Teachers know all the children so well that the children experience no difficulty in shifting from one teacher to another as their interests shift. Children in the intermediate group are able to work with written materials related to the ideas and concepts with which they have been working. They engage in increasingly valuable group activities in pursuit of their answers to the rich variety of curiosities so characteristic of this period of development. As in the primary school, the team of teachers

consists of three or four individuals who as a team have a wide range of skills and interests valuable to children. The skills the children are learning are at no time ends in themselves, but instruments to improve the quality and extend the range of genuine experience.

Teachers in this kind of organization find that they feel free to live with children in a relaxed informal atmosphere, that they are not feeling the pressure of the expectations of the teacher of the next grade. This kind of feeling creates the kind of learning environment that encourages children to reveal their real interests and problems. In those situations in which this type of organization has been tried out, the children ultimately do somewhat better in the traditional school subjects than they do in the grade level organization; in addition, their social and emotional learnings excel those in the traditionally organized school.¹

Homogeneous Grouping

Several philosophical questions present themselves as we consider homogeneous grouping. If we group homogeneously, are we using the school to deepen the social-class lines which we find in our communities? Is it ethical to label individuals and coerce them to spend their time with others who have no more ability along a certain line than themselves? How do we learn more effectively—from those who are different from us, who have abilities we do not have, or from others who have no more ability than ourselves? These are the questions that the advocates of homogeneous grouping have never been able to answer satisfactorily.

Evidence about the effects of environment on mental abilities, described in Chapter 5, leads us to believe that homogeneous grouping tends further to handicap those who are in greatest need of a rich environment. Many researches, including Newman's² study of identical twins reared in different environments and the placement of children of mothers of low I.Q. in foster homes hav-

¹ Much of this section appeared in an article by Howard Lane, "Moratorium on Grade Grouping," *Educational Leadership*, March, 1947, pp. 385-395. The Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. has been instrumental in stimulating interest in this subject.

² George D. Stoddard, *The Meaning of Intelligence* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943).

ing rich environments, indicate that the individual's capacities to learn is affected significantly by the environment in which he lives. An environment rich in love and affection and in opportunities for experiences with a variety of learning situations such as children's books, trips to interesting places, music in the home, interesting table conversation, toys, and other contrivances to stimulate the imagination results in higher levels of ability than when these factors are absent.

More than half the children who come to the public schools have not had opportunities for richness of environment.³ They are the children from the lower socio-economic groups. They often have to snatch food on the run and may be undernourished. Their playthings and books are limited and their environment is frequently confined to their immediate neighborhood. These children are inclined to measure lower on intelligence tests than children who have had more attractive environments during the early years. If we separate these children from the others, place them in special groups and label them as dumbbells, or the C group, or prevocational, we further handicap them.

In effect, we determine in a large percentage of the cases that these children will remain dumbbells. Dumbness is learned. Even a three-year-old knows the meaning of the word dumbbell or the word stupid. You tell a child often enough that he is stupid, and he becomes stupid. We build a mirror or self-image of stupidity when we shunt into one class the children whom we have labelled as slow learners. As we understand more fully that democracy depends upon self-respect more completely than any other quality, we grow in our understanding of how completely undemocratic the practice of homogeneous grouping is and how damaging it is to personality.



We have been examining homogeneous grouping from the point of view of the slow learners, but what about the gifted child? Do we not penalize him if we require him to be in a group with children who have much less experience than he has, whose experiences have been so meager that there seems little communication? Certainly, we do, if we require him to limit his activities

³ Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) discusses the effects of this fact.

and learnings to those of the slowest in the group. But school is not an assembly line process. A teacher with imagination has materials that challenge the more gifted children as well as materials for those who are definitely limited in reading capacities. The children who are limited in the more academic skills may have many things to teach the gifted.

We recall the experience of Tom who entered the group at the time it was studying cotton. This youngster—who would be labelled stupid by most grouping techniques—had planted, chopped, and picked cotton. He had watched it being baled. He recognized the threat of the boll weevil and knew how much cotton it required to buy a pair of shoes. He couldn't read about cotton, but he knew cotton, the lives of the cotton-pickers, and he had much to teach the city kids who had never tasted salt pork or knew the terror of an empty stomach. This group of suburban children were richer because Tom joined them. He helped them know how children live in other parts of the country and he received from them a real appreciation for bringing new and strange learnings to them.

We believe democracy means that the gifted share their talents with all the people rather than reserving them for those who need them least. We do not develop a sense of sharing if all the need for responsibility is removed from the classroom through homogeneous grouping. In its grouping into classroom groups or within classrooms, the school must avoid all implication that one group is more respected, or more cherished than another.

Jerry is the youngest child in his class because his birthday came so late in the year. He will always be the youngest in his class unless he is especially dumb, and if he should turn out to be bright he is likely to be "put up" where he will be still younger. At home he has an older brother and sister and able, vigorous parents. He has to stomp and yell and pout for every bit of attention and significance he experiences. The school's graded system rules that he must live likewise at school.

Little Algernon reads well and adds two-place numbers such as 23 and 45, although 27 and 47 are too much. He is a gentleman and not yet six years old, and is a most satisfying child because he makes no disturbance, and is always clean. He is afraid to try to catch a ball; he wouldn't try to shin up a tree. He retreats

into reading and other abnormal activities that bring pain on his head. He violates the integrity of his young eyes and denies the demand of his body for activity, and is daily less acceptable to his associates and increasingly disdainful of them. Thus another superior mind is lost as a potential influence in a world mortally ill for lack of competent, accepted leadership.

Tommy can't read, spell, or do arithmetic. He is strong. His school compromised; he is in fourth grade where he can't read the books because they are too hard, and can't play with the children because he is too large (tough). He has taken to bullying, teasing, and defiance to assure himself that all is well with him. Tommy may have to go back still further, or go to vocational school. He needs to be with older children among whom his physical abilities can be employed but can't dominate. He can't read wherever he is.



Dudley, says the records, is sixteen years old; his I.Q. is 82 according to one group test administered three years ago. Dudley is slow, dull, hazy. He is passing only one course in ninth grade; the instructor of that course has been asked to explain to the principal. The foregoing was true in November, but one of his teachers needed data for a term paper and administered tests to Dudley and other pupils. On three of the ten sections of that test Dudley made perfect scores. He went "off the test"—above tenth-grade level—on all sections. When confronted with the implications of the test results, Dudley maintained, "Oh, heck! That test wasn't fair for me. I knew all that stuff." Further conversation revealed that Dudley was but thirteen years old. A boy likes to be older, especially a large one. And that I.Q. test—"Aw. That was baby stuff, and anyway I broke my pencil." Dudley was sent to senior high school forthwith and elected to study geometry, chemistry, and physics. He didn't want to take English but, of course, there was no escape from that. He did exceptionally well in geometry, chemistry, and physics. Dudley's real I.Q. was something more than 150; the great tragedy in Dudley's life—or was it the world's—was that he accepted the school's judgment on his first I.Q. test. On finishing high school he found a job in a filling station that made his living and left plenty of time for reading.

In most of the first grades of this land we find the bluebirds,

the robins, and the woodpeckers. Their names vary from place to place; their characteristics vary little. The first grade teacher and her "superiors" profess to love the woodpeckers as much as the bluebirds, but these slower children smell the implications of the fact that they are dispatched on errands or stuck in the clay when company comes, and their mothers are told, "He's a little slow in his reading, but he is a splendid child."



Most parents and many teachers tell every child that he could be a bluebird if he would just try, although the children can readily detect this preposterous prevarication by counting the chairs in the reading circle. Trying too hard is a dominant feature of most remedial readers. Following the significant principle that every human being must think well of himself, the woodpeckers and many of the robins develop attitudes such as "Reading is too hard, too dull. I can't do it. I don't like it." "Who wants to be a sissy, and read?" We once knew a little girl who insisted, "I can read writin', but I can't read readin'."

Standardized group tests continue to be used as the principal basis for homogeneous grouping. Tests are alleged to be superior to opinion in their freedom from the bias and halo-effect that favor the more pleasant, quiet, and "well-bred" children liked by teachers. We have yet to find a group test that purports, even in its advertising, to be a precise measure of the achievement of an individual. They are, by title and definition, made to test groups, to test outcomes of experimental methods, and to secure data for use in research, NOT to measure the ability and achievement of individuals in groups. Yet we all know instances of a person other than the child's teacher ordering the child's removal to another group on the basis of his few quantitative scores and in sheer ignorance of the child's personal needs and attitudes or of the probable influence of the change upon his parents and their attitude toward him. Keliher's study describes in detail the effects of such practice.⁴

We have been trying to think of instances in the work and

⁴ Alice Keliher, "A Critical Study of Homogeneous Grouping," *Teachers College Contributions to Education*, No. 632 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931).

play of the world in which effective social groups are homogeneous. These occur to us: the Rockettes at Radio City Music Hall amaze the observer by presenting three dozen or so well-matched young women dancing as one; the Buckingham Palace guards are all of a height, identical in appearance and manner—but these are spectacles. Even a good football team coordinates different abilities of twenty or thirty talented young men; a construction gang performs amazing feats of creation, but no one of them working alone could make a house as well as could his grandfather.



Special Groups for Remedial Purposes

Among the most lamentable effects of systems of grouping and consequent standardization of materials and assignment of materials and methods to "levels" has been the development of the special classes and schools for varied deviations from teacher readiness and toleration. By what extreme aberration of logic has come the practice of grouping together children of like deviation? Do non-readers become readers by living with other children who cannot read? Do non-English-speaking pupils become glib in English in association with other people who speak it haltingly? Some schools have gone to the extreme of gathering together pre-delinquent children to make them good. The human being is a product of his culture! Abraham Lincoln, in response to the argument that slaves were really better cared for and happier as slaves than they would be as free men, asked, "Is there any good thing that no man has asked for himself?" We wonder if this simple question alone does not reveal the basic fault of the special class, the special school.

Sometimes it seems that our goal is to remove from the group all those children who need teachers. We place in special classes those who are falling behind in their reading, despite our knowledge that a four-year mental-age span is to be expected in any first grade, and that it is our expectancy for children to learn to read sometime between four and nine years of age. We know that in any age group beyond nine years we can expect a range of seven or eight years in mental growth. The range is just as wide in any sewing circle, but these manage to have programs, put on special projects, raise money for the heathen, and otherwise accomplish

their purposes. They simply say, "Let's ask Mrs. X to bake the cake. You know what good cakes she makes," knowing full well that to ask Mrs. X to handle the money would be a mistake of the first magnitude.

But we examine our school group and find that three boys and one girl are such severe behavior problems that we must find an elsewhere (special) class for them, too. We send our emotional problems to special reading groups for, of course, they can't read very well if they are having emotional disturbances. Are we likely to become so skillful in this type of rejection that we send to a special class all those people who really need us?

Fortunately, we are beginning to see the fallacy of this way of taking account of differences. More and more teachers are understanding the complex, intimate relations between learning and environment, between learning and how the learner feels about himself. We are shifting our emphasis from centering attention on learning the three R's to creating an environment in which each child feels wanted and necessary for the group's purposes.

As we change this emphasis, we find that reading comes along much better than before. Many children have been deterred from reading by trying too hard and by teachers and parents becoming too much concerned. This over-concern is a function of associating acceptability and grouping.

A by-product of the graded system, of all forms of quality grouping, is the unhygienic atmosphere of marking, promotion, retention. In past school practice, success in a group was highly tinged with moral judgment. If the child has tried, if he has done his best, he is sent along. Should he trifle, exhibit interests and behaviors out of accord with the pictures-in-the-head of the teacher, he is quite likely to be sentenced to doing more time in the group and with the subject matter that has already failed to engage his interest and gain his concern.



Not long since, a high-school pupil related her unseemly gratification in making the highest score on a departmental standardized test. Next day she reported her dismay and outrage at having at last been identified by her teacher as the "one with the high score" and being told publicly, "I'm going to lower your grade. You are not working up to capacity."

Often it seems that most of the ills, aside from neglect, heaped upon children by teachers and parents result from this disposition to moralize and judge. The terms *deserve*, *merit*, *fault*, *blame*, *good*, *bad*, *correct*, *wrong* loom large in the vocabulary of teaching. Chisholm states forthrightly that the world's ills culminating in war result from the teaching of morality, a notion of right and wrong apart from the exercise of good sense and a comprehension of conduct appropriate to circumstances.⁵

In our motivations of children we must be very confusing to them. We teach children to be considerate, to say "Pardon me," to take the smaller apple, the nearer piece of cake, not to reach across people, not to push ahead of them in line. We are amused at the nursery-school child heard to remark to the new pupil as they contended for the slide, "We don't do that way in this school. We take turns. First I go, then you go. See?" Yet when he gets to first grade, we urge that he strive to be a bluebird, contend to be at the head of the class, and get the most correct answers to the problems in the test.

Parents and teachers commonly motivate their children to hasten in their maturing with comments such as, "You're not a baby any more," "You act more like a first grader than a big boy in the third grade." And, of course, we maintain a system which states that if you're not a good first grader you can't go to second grade, which implies that first graders are definitely inferior and unworthy and fit objects of disdain and attack. These same adults are quite outraged when Junior reduces this logic to its absurdity and socks baby brother, and gets a few first-grade scalps on his way home for lunch. In some schools it has become traditional to dismiss the younger children in time to allow them to reach the safety of their homes before their older superiors and masters are loosed upon them.

This implication of superior worthiness stems from ancient philosophical error which held that difference in persons, things, and ideas were attended by difference in goodness. Many teachers, curriculum directors, and parents carry pictures of perfection in their heads. They know what a good six-year-old is like, what a good group of ten-year-olds should know and feel. Children whose ways, knowledge, and feelings match these pictures are

⁵ G. B. Chisholm, "The Psychiatry of Enduring Peace and Social Progress," *Psychiatry*, IX, No. 1 (February, 1946), pp. 3-20.

good members of the group; those approaching the mental pictures are said to be in a stage of "readiness"; those deviating markedly from them are in the wrong group.

As we become clear about our motives for grouping, we find it easier to break with the outmoded patterns that are binding us today. Our purpose for grouping is to find ways for children to live together in zestful, significant working and playing relationships that stimulate them to want to make the most of their own unique capacities. We now know that there is little that we as adults can do to help these processes along except to create an environment that encourages each child to be himself, and to grow in his own way. If we as teachers are not pressured by the organization of the institution, we will find it easier to see the needs of the children for whom we work.

Desirable Grouping Practices

Two principles serve to guide us toward desirable group practices: keep groups flexible and form groups through the consideration of many factors.

Flexibility in group formation

Better human relations prevail in the classrooms in which the groups are so flexible that no child has a feeling that he has prime membership in any one group. If we allow groups to become too rigid, sub-group rivalries and cliques develop. Groups are kept flexible by examining the purposes for which the groups are formed and then using the method for determining group membership that seems most appropriate. This implies a wide range of learning activities within the classroom so that children are stimulated to participate in a variety of purposes with a variety of associates.



In a day's time Harold might find himself teamed with Jack in tabulating some information on a questionnaire, with Sally and six other boys and girls in demonstrating a square dance to the class, with Mac and Tom in setting up the audio-visual equipment and operating the machine for a film showing, with Jack and two other classmates on a panel sharing its findings with the group, and with five classmates who are drawing up agenda for the coming week. The overlap in these groups

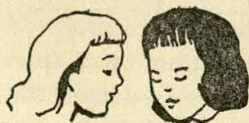
may give Harold a bit more security if he needs it, but the divergence enriches his group experiences, for he learns to work with a variety of temperaments, capacities, and interests and is learning how to plan, to compile, to demonstrate a skill, to work with machinery.

Ways of forming groups

No *one* factor is an adequate criterion for forming groups. All of the following are criteria for group formation appropriate to some purposes: ability groups, friendship groups, interest groups, age groups, size groups, neighborhood groups. Let us briefly analyze some situations in which these factors or a combination of them are appropriate.

Ability Groups. If a fine poster is needed, it makes sense for three or four people who have poster-making ability to do the job. If, however, the class has someone who has less ability but much interest in poster-making, it would enrich all concerned to include the one who is interested but less skilled and let this be an occasion to teach poster-making as well as an occasion for making posters. The situations in which ability grouping seem appropriate are continuously coming up in the classroom. These groups serve their purpose and then disband. To get a job done, ability groups might form along dozens of abilities: singing, drawing, threading a needle, typing a script, collecting money, drawing up plans, caring for a sick member, using references, telling a story, relaying a message, and on and on. We have made most harmful mistakes in the use of ability groups by limiting the ability considered respectable to that of reading and by allowing the reading groups to become permanent. This practice is diminishing.

Friendship Groups. In many situations the most appropriate method of forming groups is on the basis of friendships if in so doing we recognize that all of us need to be needed. Sociometrics give us a way of forming groups along friendship lines without anyone being left out. Suppose the class is planning to take a trip and it is necessary for them to divide into groups of three. This is the kind of event in which each person would appreciate being with someone whom he likes very much. The class is asked to list the names of their first, second, and third choice of friend for the day

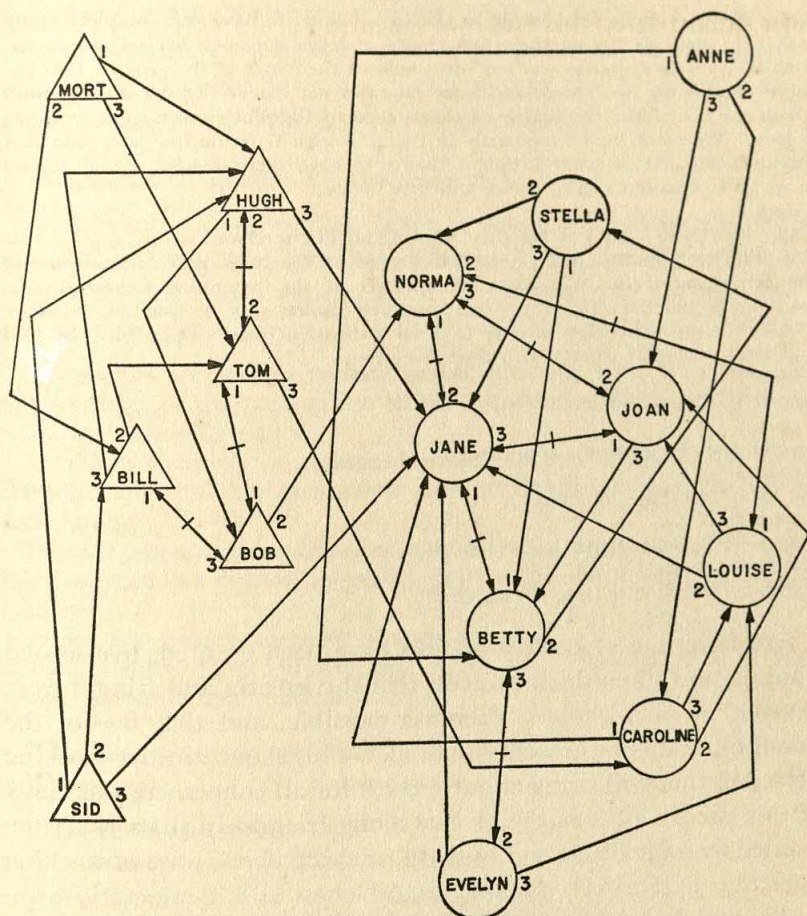


In summarizing this data, we get this:

Jane	5 first choices 1 second choice 3 third choices	9 choices total
Betty	3 first choices 1 second choice 1 third choice	5 choices
Bob	3 first choices	3 choices
Norma	1 first choice 4 second choices	5 choices
Tom	1 first choice 2 second choices 1 third choice	4 choices
Hugh	2 first choices 1 second choice 1 third choice	4 choices
Joan	1 second choice 4 third choices	5 choices
Louise	1 second choice 2 third choices	3 choices
Bill	2 second choices 1 third choice	3 choices
Caroline	1 second choice 1 third choice	2 choices
Stella	1 second choice	1 choice
Evelyn	1 third choice	1 choice
Anne	Not chosen	0 choice
Morton	Not chosen	0 choice
Sid	Not chosen	0 choice

An analysis of this scattergram shows three isolates (unchosen members), two fringers (chosen very infrequently), two stars (chosen very frequently), and eight mutual choices. The teacher, if he considers it necessary, may plot these relationships into a sociogram that in this case would look like the one that is shown on page 315.

Numbers surrounding individual circles or triangles represent the individual's choice. Mutual choices are indicated by a cross bar in center of the arrows. Girls are represented by circles and boys by triangles.



The teacher looks at the needs of the isolates: Anne, Morton, and Sid. He builds up tentative groups of three thus:

Group 1

Anne chose Betty as her first choice and Betty chose _____.

Group 2

Morton chose Hugh as his first choice and Hugh chose _____.

Group 3

Sid chose Hugh as his first choice. Since Hugh did not choose Sid nor Morton and he has to have one of his choices, too, we go to Sid's second choice.

Sid chose Bill as his second choice and Bill chose _____.

Now we consider the needs of the fringers before we finish these groups. Fringers were Evelyn and Stella so we begin two more groups.

Group 4

Evelyn chose Jane as her first choice and Jane chose _____.

Stella chose Betty as her first choice and since Betty chose Stella as her second

choice we place Stella temporarily in Group 1. Now we have one complete group with two members having their first choice and one member her second choice. Next we consider Caroline who was very much on the fringe of the group. Caroline chose Jane as her first choice and since Jane did not choose her nor Evelyn (with whom she is already temporarily placed) we go to Caroline's second choice which is Joan. We place Joan temporarily in Group 5 with Caroline but later find that this does not give as many people a chance to have their first or second choices so we go to Caroline's third choice which is Louise.

Group 5

Caroline chose Louise as her third choice and Louise chose_____. At this point we have tentatively placed in groups on the basis of friendship nine of the fifteen members. We survey the choices of the remaining six, study the scattergram and the sociogram to see how their choices may be granted. First we look at the mutual choices and try to grant as many of these as possible. By trial and error we finally emerge with these five groups:

Group 1

Anne (1st), Betty (2nd), Stella (1st)

Group 2

Morton (1st), Hugh (2nd), Tom (2nd)

Group 3

Sid (2nd), Bill (1st), Bob (3rd)

Group 4

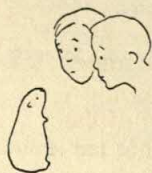
Evelyn (1st), Jane (3rd), Joan (1st)

Group 5

Caroline (3rd), Louise (1st), Norma (2nd)

We note that seven first choices have been granted, five second choices, and three third choices; that the isolates and fringes were given their first choices whenever possible, and that five of the seven mutual choices were honored. This should insure working relations that will bring about growth for all concerned, especially if this process of forming groups along friendship lines is accompanied by some direct and indirect teaching about ways of working together, and of recognizing inclusiveness as a democratic principle, and by giving guidance toward helping the isolates learn why they are not chosen as frequently as some others. This must be done subtly and with great skill.

Interest Groups. One of the most logical ways for forming groups is to help those people who have like interests come together to work on their common problems. Five boys interested in auto mechanics may wish in their science to learn how to tear down and assemble an engine. A group of girls may be making an analysis of various kinds of cosmetics. Another group of girls may be interested in exploring how drugs operate in body chemistry while another group may be doing an experiment with rats or guinea pigs on the effects of various kinds of diet. So little of the world's accumulated knowledge can be learned by



any one person that there is great value in having a variety of related projects growing out of interests going on at one time so that the group may share their experiences and thus get a taste of the scope of the field that is being studied.

Work of small groups or committees

This seems an appropriate place to say a word about the work of small groups once they are formed. This phase of work requires skillful coordination for it to be effective. These techniques have proved helpful to us as we work with small groups:

Discuss the whole area enough before forming sub-groups that the relationships of the part to the whole are clearly defined and understood by the total group.

Establish channels of communication between sub-groups so that they are able to help each other with materials, overlapping areas, confusions.

Provide machinery for frequent progress reports so that the relationships are not lost sight of as groups delve more deeply into the small studies.

Encourage creative methods of sharing and a wide variety of ways of sharing results. Help children and youth realize the value of audio-visual, dramatic, and musical forms.

The following criteria are helpful to stimulate effective work of small groups:

Is responsibility shared?

Are decisions arrived at by consensus?

Is leadership shared?

Is attention given to feelings of group members?

Are limitations of time and space facilities handled realistically?

Has the group employed the uniqueness of its members?

We have found a statement suggesting the role of the participators a helpful way of stimulating a variety of interesting ways to share ideas. The following one used in college classes is adaptable to high school classes.

The Role of Participators

The goal of the participators is to present the topic under discussion in a manner so that the entire class learns as much as possible about the topic. This goal implies that principles of learning must be considered. Some of the factors that participators may wish to discuss as they make their plans for presentation are as follows:

1. Have we developed methods of presentation that have variety and dynamics to them?
2. Have we used the problem-solving approach?
3. Have we made the presentation in a manner so that class members are stimulated to further thinking, reading, and experimentation?
4. Have we indicated the results of some of the major research related to the topic?
5. Has every member of our group had an opportunity to help in the actual presentation before the class?
6. Have we planned for class discussion and reaction as a part of our presentation?

Some of the variety of ways for communicating ideas are briefly described below:

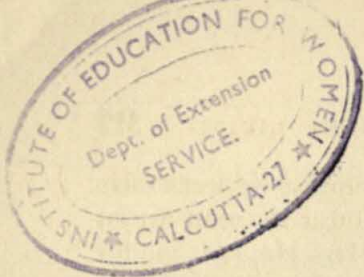
1. *Lecture.* This method is recommended when the specialized knowledge of an expert is needed in a particular situation. It is a one-way channel of communication and is therefore limited in its power for exchange of ideas.
2. *Film.* This method is recommended when a film is available that develops an idea in a powerful manner. Films should generally be combined with discussion and care should be taken not to use second-rate or irrelevant films.
3. *Panel discussion.* Panels are usually more successful if they are an informal, unrehearsed exchange of ideas among panel members. A panel consisting of five or more set speeches is usually a "deadly" operation. Many varieties of panels may be used: inductive, use of interrogators, use of visual aids, and the like.
4. *Buzz sessions.* Breaking the class into small groups of five or seven to discuss for a few minutes (six to ten) some one problem or topic stimulates interest.
5. *Role-playing.* A dynamic means of presenting a problem situation. It may involve the entire group.
6. *Exhibits and demonstrations.*
7. *Tape recordings* of interviews held with people outside the class.
8. *Dramatic skits.*
9. *Musical presentation.*
10. *Group discussion.*

Schools must group children. We cannot teach them one by one or in masses. This chapter has raised questions about the validity of current practices in grouping—practices that have grown like Topsy rather than as a result of thoughtful consideration of our knowledge of human development and the goals of the

school. Up-to-date knowledge of human growth indicates clearly that the social atmosphere in which a child grows is the most crucial factor in determining his human quality. Mark Hopkins and his log may have been ideal for the child who lived in a large family in a simple friendly neighborhood. They are not enough for today.

Educators must know more than we know now about the optimum size for the whole school for children at the various ages. Doubtless we have allowed city schools to become too large. We have a hunch that once the optimum size of any social group is reached, troubles increase at the rate of the square of the number of persons involved. It is not unlikely that a prominent source of the disorder we are calling "juvenile delinquency" is the huge high school with which only outstandingly talented youth can find significant identification.

Careful study must be directed to discerning the extent to which the school's practices in grouping actually function as systematic rejection of children. Grouping must be done with and for children, not to them. We doubt that any genius can devise an appropriate scheme for grouping children to be administered from a central office. Only the broad scheme of size and location of the school and of ages to attend it can be centrally administered. Only the teachers who are with the children day by day and who know them as personalities can arrange appropriate groups among them and with them.

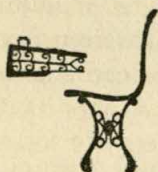


20

Physical conditions for group living

HOW much space do children need? How should this space be arranged? What facilities should be provided in it?

In the good old days a schoolroom was large enough to provide space for the teacher's desk in the front of the room, for blackboards with standing space on at least two sides of the room, and for five or six rows of screwed-down desks with aisles between, all facing the front of the room. The schools of our grandfathers provided space in the center of the room for the pot-bellied stove. Windows were placed above eye-level of the child to insure his insulation from the distracting world. Outdoor light came over his left shoulder since the odds were five to one that he was right-handed and the shadow of his hand must not conceal his own writing from his view. He would not move, of course, from this desk from beginning bell until the release of recess.



In the good-old-school, the good child's human associations were with his teacher's countenance and the backs of his classmates. The teacher functioned as a switch-board through whom all communication must pass. Direct communication (whispering) was a minor sin; indirect communication (note-writing) could, when detected, ruin one's deportment record for the term.

How different is the modern school! No less than twenty square feet per child is tolerable, forty square feet is the size recommended by the Association for Childhood Education Interna-

tional.¹ This is not a great deal of space: four by five feet to five by eight feet of space in which an active child is to spend five or more hours a day.

We have little faith in formulae for space. We do believe that much violence is done the growing child by severe restriction of his living space. The Association for Childhood Education urges a maximum of twenty children in kindergarten, twenty-five in primary and intermediate schools. The amount of space and freedom per child is quite as important as sheer number of children.

Mumford has this to say about size in our culture: ". . . a succession of sociological studies . . . has shown that limitation of size is an essential attribute of all organic grouping: the true alternative to big, rigid organizations, cramped by their self-imposed routine, is to limit the number of people in the local group, and to multiply and federate these groups."²

Recently we visited a delightful neighborhood school built for children five through twelve years of age. It consisted of seven classrooms, a large playroom that the children could readily convert into a lunchroom, a library room that was a branch of the city's public library, and a small auditorium with a stage manageable by the children. The size and shape of the classrooms allowed the use of some round tables and some long ones, in addition to a table and chair for each child. On one wall were rather deep lockers with doors fifteen inches square, one for each child, in which he could keep his belongings. This is a most important provision. In each room was running water, ample space for a science corner, for easels and tools, and well-drained earth for plants, and for an aquarium. Basically, though, the space in the rooms was elastic; plans for varied uses of it could readily be executed by the youngsters.

We have heard that states today provide more space for prisoners than for children in school. With the current trend toward smaller and smaller homes, school space becomes more important for children. Children require elbow-room, space enough to use their bodies fully without bumping other people.

¹ Helen K. Mackintosh, "Schools for Growing Children," *Childhood Education*, March, 1954, p. 304. The Association for Childhood Education is a rich source of information and inspiration for educators concerned with elementary school children. Address: 1200 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

² Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1951), p. 277.

In practical terms, a schoolroom may be considered to have adequate space if there is room for every child to sit in childlike manner (somewhat in motion) and provide enough additional room for two groups of six or seven children to function together.



The importance of physical setting is eloquently stated by Kate Wofford who helped Florida teachers articulate what they know about requirements of children for appropriate space and arrangement.

School buildings are the stage settings of a good curriculum. Indeed, they do more—they control the actors. . . . Group planning and action are hampered when 45 children occupy space planned for 30. Leisurely reading in a school library is impossible when you encounter your neighbor's elbow with the slightest move. Long narrow halls with door after door opening on them mean noise and confusion or repression and furtive movements. The one-story buildings which have each classroom opening on to patios, gardens, playgrounds, or porches (characteristic of many new schools) mean that each classroom makes its own noise. The school building itself protects from the confusion and noise of others.³

Planning the room arrangement most suitable for the work at hand is an important aspect of the learning process and must be participated in by the children themselves. They will provide many original ideas and will learn about the importance of relationships in space and of the importance of planning varied arrangements and facilities for varied kinds of enterprises. As the leader of the group, the teacher is able to direct consideration of objectives and purposes, and of physical arrangements that best suit pursuit of them.

The teacher makes sure, by devices that no person can prescribe for another, that everyone in the group can see and hear every one else as he talks. This may mean unscrewing some screwed-down seats and some screwed-down notions. Even the old-time desks can be screwed down upon boards that can be skidded about the room. Arrangements that permit direct communication among individuals without the necessity of going through the status

³ Kate Wofford, "Setting the Stage," *Childhood Education*, March 1954, p. 303.

leader result in happier, more considered relationships among individuals, and in more prolonged morale in a social group.

Circular arrangement of seating and group work permits the optimum of communication and the minimum of friction and contention.⁴ In a circle everyone is on a par with every other one in ease of communication. In straight lines the person in the center has marked communication advantage. He, by physical arrangement rather than by his competency or the wisdom of his strategy, becomes the leader in approaches to whatever problems arise. With seven in a row the central one can communicate with two directly, with two others with only one relay, and with the other two with only two heads to talk across. The end person can communicate with only one directly and relays add up to five steps before the person at the other end receives his message. The old parlor-game of "gossip" shows readily our common recognition of the extent to which the meaning of messages is distorted through relaying.

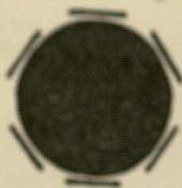
Flexibility of arrangement is essential to a modern program of education. Provision for flexibility, or for lack of it, symbolizes the community's concept of human adjustment, its answer to the question, "Are people to manage and arrange the conditions of their living, or are they to learn to adjust peacefully to whatever conditions are provided for them?" New school plants are equipped with flexible, movable furniture. But how often we see pretty little tables and comfortable chairs in rows as straight and fixed as ever were the screwed-down desks! Many teachers and custodians, and some principals, will have to undergo some unlearning to realize the mature concept that comfortable friendly relationships and looking one's associates in the eye are more important than formulated orderliness and rigid tidiness.

We recommend desks, or tables, to which seats are not attached. The tables can be moved together to provide for a wider area of work space, separate chairs can be collected into the more intimate circle, or into several small groups. Claims for "posture seating" are highly exaggerated, being premised upon the assumption that the child will sit for long periods of time without moving. Damage is done to posture whenever a child is required to ignore his

⁴ David B. Hertz and Sandia Lloyd Lesser, "People in Groups," *Scientific American*, February, 1951, pp. 26-28.

body's urge to change position. The posture-controlled chairs are most uncomfortable unless the built-in position is maintained.

Each classroom should have one round table large enough to accommodate six or seven children. The round table has no head and discourages even the teacher from dominating the discussions and deliberations that pass across it. It also permits optimum communication and encourages the equal social distances we seek in groups.



The teacher needs a place to keep his equipment, probably a bit more space than any child needs. The room may well include a file for the teacher and a file for the group. Being a person, too, the teacher will want to exercise some preference in the placement of his work-space (desk). The wise teacher will place his desk so as to be a part of the group rather than in front or on top of the group.

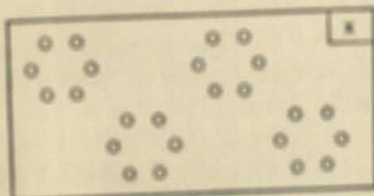
A major purpose of the modern school is to help youth learn to think together on problems of common significance to them. Seating arrangements markedly affect patterns of communication. They are equally important to the development of well-adjusted, considerate, accepting individuals who are disposed to appreciate the concerns and efforts of their associates. Careful research shows clearly that the less democratic organization (linear and the inverted-Y pattern characteristic of many business organizations) yield dissatisfied individuals whose production falls as frustration mounts.

The arrangement of work space is determined by the kind of work in which the group is engaged. If individuals are doing research for a few days, straight rows arranged functionally around materials to be used will be less distracting than circles. If the group is to carry on discussion, it must be seated with as much face-to-faceness as possible. The architects of the United Nations building recognized the horseshoe as a form of seating most conducive to group thinking; they provided the dais with many seats facing it as most appropriate for exhortation. In the classroom some types of showing and sharing may require the theater-like arrangement. When the group organizes for committee work, an arrangement of small circles or rectangles is most suitable. On page 325 are sketched examples of the infinite variety of arrange-

ments made possible by flexible desks and unattached chairs in classrooms.

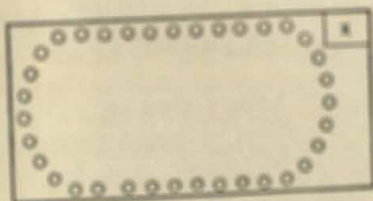
Our knowledge of the forces that shape human development requires that we try to counterbalance the increasing passiveness

FRONT
OF
ROOM



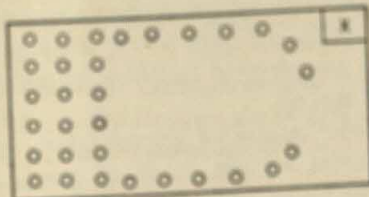
Teacher's desk

Arranged for four committees. Note circles are placed for minimum of interference with each other.



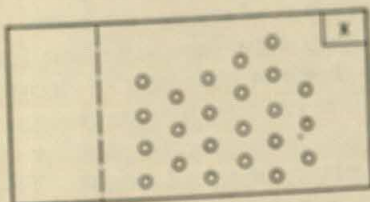
Teacher's desk

Seats pushed back against walls in a closed circle for class discussion.



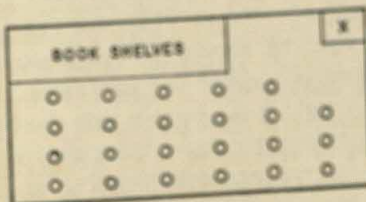
Teacher's desk

Open circle. Double part-way around to allow for sharing space.



Teacher's desk

Theatre-like arrangement. Front of room used for stage.



Teacher's desk

Organized in straight row using width of room so as to have as little moving about as necessary to secure books used in research work.

of living. We know the power of all positive learning must come from inside the individual. Yet so much of modern life is a condition of waiting for life to happen to us. After infancy little children do not wait for life to happen. A five-year-old replied to her Daddy's fine lecture on learning manners so she would know how to behave when she grew up with, "Daddy! I'm not waiting to be big." Many children today live in schools in which temperature is automatic; lighting is regulated by photo-electric cells; food appears at the proper time in proper variety and amount; electric clocks give time of day, they need not be wound; the principal can make a pronouncement without arising from his chair, the child can receive it without missing a stroke.



In recognition of every human being's need for mastery of his own life, the educator today is obliged to consider most thoughtfully the modern trend in school buildings. Are they becoming too large, too solid, too inflexible, too automatic, too dull? Should they not be simple enough for youngsters to manage, to use as instruments for enhancing the quality of their living?

We suggest some criteria for physical facilities in addition to space, and arrangements for seating.

Flexibility. Probably some aspects of construction must be fixed, although at the moment we can think of none. Office buildings now have moveable walls; prefabricated panels make it possible to have doors and windows where we want them. Elastic pipes are feasible for plumbing; autos have had them for years. Safe extension cords permit choice in placement of electrical outlets. But for most schools these circumstances are remote. More important is flexibility of room arrangements. Smaller children find great value in simple screens of varied height. These can be simply made by framing heavy paper-board or thin plywood and making some detachable feet for them. The work-table, sand-table, and other heavy equipment should be on good casters. Numerous teachers today complain about the inflexible built-ins of the modern school. We should make certain that the built-ins are important and almost unanimously desired, for they stay put!

Variety. Is the room and its equipment such that it can be used for a variety of purposes? Can it be a little theater, an art studio,

a workroom, a library, a museum, a living room with a maximum of appropriateness and a minimum of confusion? In his classroom a child needs to play many roles. His equipment must be readily at hand, with appropriate provision for his keeping it in order. A classroom group should be able to change the appearance of its room, if not by planned redecorating, by new accessories, murals, plants, pictures, furnishings.

Durability. Recently we heard and watched the children of an overcrowded elementary school get ready to move into their new building. The building was beautiful to see. The Board and architect and principal were very proud! Moving day was a happy occasion—the happiness was of short duration. In the new school the floor showed dust tracks; monitors were required to admonish a wiping of the feet. The new paint was brittle; children must not bump it hard with anything. The ventilation system was automatic; the windows must not be opened to hear the singing of the birds. The New House was so beautiful that the persons for whom it was built could not be people in it. Buildings and equipment must be built to stand the people that are to use them.

In *Survival Through Design*, Neutra has presented a brilliant analysis of the importance of making our schemes and our structures a part of fundamental human living rather than master and rationer of it:

There can be no happy survival where children are dressed and treated as little grown-ups—poor-darling diminutive “similes” of adults. We have had too much of this sort of fallacy. . . . Steady illumination can become oppressive even though it may seem attractive at first. The strong vivid colors in nature, like those of an impressive evening sky, would become hard to bear if viewed indefinitely; here the factor of fatigue appears operative. Undoubtedly, steady uniformity needs to be offset—just as seasonal change is an important element in our enjoyment of nature. . . . It becomes apparent how greatly man puts himself at a disadvantage from the standpoint of nervous health when he limits the types of optical vibrations to a few in his constructed compartments and surrounds himself with fully stabilized, static color schemes. Moreover, he applies them most often in a



fairly limited space, an interior. . . . If we cannot yet produce a biologically perfect interior by technological means, our decision must simply be against making an interior fully dependent on intricate technology. We must still design living space, and a current environment for the race, so that the neurologically salubrious agents of nature outside are freely admitted and kept active to as great an extent as possible.⁵

When making these penetrating observations, Mr. Neutra may not have been thinking of schools, but we have a notion that he would like us to allow the infinite variety of nature's light, color, temperature enter the schoolrooms for interaction with the humans therein.

Not long ago some elementary teachers sat letting their minds wander in search of the ideal elementary school, which they might build were they free from memory of school buildings and the influence of builders and the purveyors of school equipment. Some called the object of their search a dream, others a nightmare.

This dream-school will accommodate few more than one hundred children. It will have several acres of ground, well fenced. When we visit it we shall see woods, gardens of flowers and vegetables, and fruit trees. In appropriate quarters will be ponies, goats, chickens, and other creatures to be enjoyed and tended by children. Framed in sand is a shallow pool for wading and for sailing boats. All that delights the child in the out-of-doors is here. (Individual homes cannot maintain these things in cities. Together the adults of the neighborhood can supply every need of children in their school.) Some of the out-of-doors has all-weather play space where children can run and jump and chase regardless of the weather. Trees are here to be climbed; grass for wallowing.

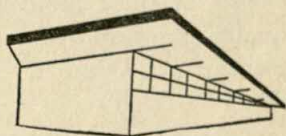
The building is a rambling house. It is a charming place for living, but not too pretty to be used. In it are four or five large rooms suitable for the visiting, work, and play of twenty-five to thirty children. Any of these rooms can seat all the children in the school should they have occasion to meet together. Each child has his own chair suitable to his size and light enough to carry about. He has a work space to call his own and a place to keep

⁵ Richard Neutra, *Survival Through Design* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 176-195.

his things, which is free from unreasonable search and seizure. His room has tools and materials commonly needed and readily handled by children. The knives have sharp edges; the saws will cut.

In addition to these rooms are others for special needs. The kitchen has simple ample equipment for preparing meals for the children. Since the children do much of the preparing and serving of food and the cleaning, the equipment is suitable to their sizes and abilities. Sleeping quarters are on the second floor. Some young children require rest and sleep during a long day. A few children live here temporarily. They have no other homes. In the building are showers and a tub or two. (A good tub bath does wondrous things for some taut bodies.)

On the walls of the room are simple maps of community, region, and nation. A globe represents the world. A simple telescope and magnifying glasses extend the eyes. In each room a television screen brings important events to the children. Many books answer many questions and tell wonderful tales, pushing in all directions the boundaries of children's lives. In the school are several writing machines. The children will not have to delay writing until small muscles have matured. They can record their thoughts on tape-recorders, too.



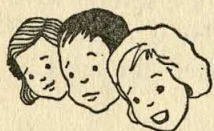
These children have the services of five or six grown-ups who are professionally trained to help children learn to be good by helping them lead good lives in an atmosphere of genuine friendliness.

The realization of this and kindred dreams is possible in America. We can afford what we want for our children. We shall build and maintain suitable buildings, grounds, equipment, as rapidly as we develop moral responsibility and mature regard for the importance of the quality of living for our children.

21

Quality of living in groups

IN the chapter on "The Meaning of Social Health," some of the human motivations determining our social relationships were discussed. Our purpose in this chapter is to look more closely at these motivations to determine how they affect the quality of group living, especially in the schoolroom. A sensitive teacher walks into a classroom and senses the atmosphere or climate of that room rather quickly. To find the factors causing one group to be hostile and fractionized, and another friendly and



happy requires infinite patience and understanding of the ways in which people perceive and feel what they are experiencing. Feelings give quality to experience; feelings can neither be assigned nor demanded. There are no "shoulds" in the realm of feelings. They just are—neither good nor bad. Readiness for group action is a matter of feelings.

Three qualities of living are important for each member of the group and for the group as a whole if there is to be growth. The dynamics of growth in every group are growth from . . . toward . . . along these lines:

Growing from *hostility* toward more and more *acceptance*.

Growing from *insecurity* toward more and more *security*.

Growing from *inadequacy* toward more and more *adequacy*.

Just as we think of mature individuals as those who are continuously growing toward these qualities, so we think of mature groups as being those that are moving toward a marked degree of acceptance, security, and adequacy among group members and with other groups. Much of the difficulties we are experiencing

today in families, neighborhoods, nations, and the world are symptomatic of the adolescent quality of our group life. Note the inter-agency strife existing in our communities. Many groups have grown up sufficiently that they function in mature ways within their own ranks but are extremely hostile to other groups working for the same purposes.

The history of Christian denominational institutions is an interesting illustration of the origin and slow maturing of groups. Starting with one parent body, the Roman Catholic Church, sub-groups split off on the basis of differing specific interpretations until, in the twentieth century, over six hundred sects of the Protestant ideology existed in America. These sects spent much of their energy emphasizing their differences, yet all were concerned with enriching the spiritual life of man. Focusing on differences renders sub-groups unable to see common purposes and to keep broad their bases of acceptance. Ultimately this fractionization resulted in such inadequacy that mergers became imperative. A sign of maturity in religious denominational life today is the trend toward mergers. Experience has taught religious groups that they cannot continue to be groups unless they grow out of their adolescent preoccupation with individuality toward the maturity of acceptance of common goals.

Now we have hundreds of agencies set up to improve human relations in many areas, and it does seem that they expend an undue amount of time and money in jurisdictional disputes. The sponsorship of a conference on "Community Relations" by some agencies is likely to result in its being blackballed by others. Obviously this cannot continue. We look forward to the day when our purposes, rather than narrow group loyalties that function to restrict human relations, become our rallying points.

One of the outcomes of the studies made for the Mid-Twentieth Century White House Conference on Children and Youth was the realization that a great need of our day is not more organizations to care for children but better working relationships between existing organizations so that a child's needs do not fall in no-man's land among the narrow functions of several groups, none of which knows the child as a personality.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall describe some of the measures by which we can assess the quality of group living.

Common Purposes

Too often we impose teacher purposes upon children. This we do because we are unsure how to use children's purposes. Frequently, we are asked, "But does an eight-year-old know what he wants to do? Doesn't he have to have some adult guidance?" The answer is, "Of course, he needs adult guidance." (So do adults need help, we might add parenthetically.) But his needing help doesn't cancel out his own purposes. An eight-year-old has to attend to his own growing and he has notions about the process. Only as we understand these processes and work with them will we be successful in establishing common purposes that have dynamic qualities.

Children want to please, and frequently they appear to accept teacher's purposes. A sensitive teacher will be quick to hear when children are parroting what they have heard adults say. Purposes are the mainsprings for learning. They provide the power. Without power, force, we don't get far in changing attitudes, in meeting the real needs of boys and girls. Have you ever observed a classroom just before recess when the youngsters were going through all the motions of learning with no real enthusiasm? The children are all in their seats working on arithmetic, but we know as we watch them that nothing is really happening to enhance their competency in arithmetic. The motions are being made in a mechanical way, but there is no movement. They aren't going anywhere. The purpose (current) is lacking. Then the bell rings for recess and immediately the group comes alive, deciding on games they want to play, choosing sides, getting themselves organized in an unbelievably short time.

The skillful teacher studies this process and brings it into operation in the classroom. Cunningham¹ in her discussion of ways to develop group purposes, shows how each of us has his own field of operation, which includes goals, barriers and means for achiev-



¹ Ruth Cunningham and others, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), pp. 56-106.

ing goals. By utilizing the interests and needs of children and by developing their identification with the teacher, we employ children's purposes and still lead them into ever-richer learning experiences. If teaching is to be like this, the teacher, as agent of the group, must be free to determine with the children the design of the program as he helps weave their purposes into a satisfying wholeness of living.

The teacher must be eternally wary of using new processes as lures for the traditional hooks. A rural teacher in Michigan related this incident as having the quality of religious conversion for her: An older pupil, the first to arrive, was shooting baskets on the playground. A six-year-old came trudging up the path carrying a heavy pail. The older one called, "What have you got in that bucket?" "A fish." "What are you goin' to do with it?" "Take it to the teacher." "The heck you are! You take that fish in there and we'll have to look it up in the encyclopedia, we'll have to draw a picture of it, we'll have to write a story about it!" With his prestige, maturity, and charm the teacher must thoughtfully examine his motives to make sure that he is not imposing his own purposes regardless of the deep purposes and developmental tasks of the learner.

Keeping Motives Straight

The second requisite for developing quality in group living is the "renunciation of exploitative temptations." The sensitive teacher asks herself many times, "Am I meeting these children's needs or am I using the children to meet my needs? Do I use them to make me look good in the eyes of my colleagues, my supervisor, my principal? Do I hammer away at reading because I know the next teacher expects these children to read, or do I believe that all six-year-olds *must* learn to read? Why am I so insistent upon the children's staying on line? Do children need this kind of discipline or do I like to order them?" Teachers frequently are preoccupied with things children don't really need. We then tend to use children to meet our needs. "What do we seek to make of our children?" is a question we ask ourselves.

Make a tally some day of the number of times we use "better than" as a motivation with children. Competition is a function of scarcity. The goods of education are plentiful, making com-

petition an inappropriate motivation for group development. Our purpose in education is not who can get through first or do the best job, because all the jobs are essential for group progress. Indifference, anxiety, resentment (all of which result from feelings of inadequacy) result when we use the spur of competition either with individuals or with groups.

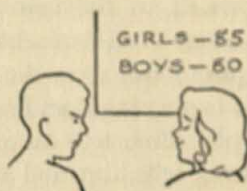
Whenever one group is set against another, it is difficult to work on projects that encompass other groups. "My class is better than yours," doesn't make for happy relationships on the playground, in the cafeteria, or assembly. "Our homeroom is the best one in the whole school, for we had more parents out to parent-teacher meeting," makes more difficult happy productive relationships when total school events come off.

Frequently motivations to outdo are related to socio-economic factors. A school in the so-called better section of town may develop unhealthy rivalry with the one serving the children of the workers. Feelings get out-of-hand during annual football games or other competitive occasions. Fights occur. Property is damaged. Articles appear in the paper berating modern youth, and adults step in to cancel the event about which the feelings have exploded. A second glance probably would tell us that adults have been responsible for arranging an environment that inevitably leads to the end we do *not* seek. When we cancel the event, unfortunately the feelings remain to simmer and explode periodically until conditions are changed.

A high school physical education consultant in a county system had this cycle of motivated contentiousness figured out. In her situation, varsity sports among the girls from different county schools had come to be affairs the teachers dreaded and the girls feared. Feelings were hurt. Sportsmanship was always lower than at any other time. Friendships were damaged. The consultant worked with the girl physical education teachers for a year studying the problem, collecting data when the games were played, recording acts of hostility and ugly situations that developed. As the teachers worked together, they drew in the girls on discussions and decisions. The result was a joint decision by staff and girls to substitute county play days for varsity sports. All have been gratified to discover how extensively hostile atti-

tudes and behavior have been replaced by friendliness, good times, and real fun.

One school was having continuous difficulty between boys and girls. As school practices were examined, it was discovered that boys were constantly pitted against girls. Separate stairs were used, separate playgrounds were designated, contests in the school stimulated boy-girl rivalry. When these practices were changed, boy-girl feelings improved.



Involvement in Group Purposes

The degree of involvement of group members in their own activities is a measure of the quality of group living. We are using involvement to mean feelings that are deep enough that they affect an individual's way of behaving. Thus it is more than verbal participation. A silent member may be deeply involved. We are inclined in our culture to equate talking with feeling and acting. Yet we know on second thought that talking is sometimes used as a device to prevent a group from reaching deeper feelings that promise to result in changed behavior.

Body action is probably a fundamental cue to degree of involvement. If heads are together, if bodies are inclined toward the one who is moving the group toward a common goal, and if bodies are coordinated to the task at hand, then we sense that the members of the group have forgotten their own individual concerns and are caught up in the process. We have probably all had the experience of coming to a group with a splitting headache to discover after an hour or two that we have forgotten our discomfort as we became involved. Women know what it is to leave the house for a club meeting in shoes that hurt only to remember hours later that they had not thought of foot discomfort. A friend looking back on her high school experience writes: "I did love school and I guess it was because I was lucky and had such nice teachers. I shall never forget my classes in creative dramatics. Those classes were the turning point in my school life. I was so backward it seemed and when we started acting it was so much fun I forgot to feel so self-conscious. I expect that is why they

have the claim!" Involvement had occurred for this individual.

Voice is another cue expressing involvement. The feelings are expressed directly in tones of warmth, intensity, timbre, and force carried by the voice. Most of us give ourselves away by our voices. As the teacher works and lives with his group, he becomes quite sensitive to the ways in which the voice indicates that what is happening does make a difference. He learns that the tone of voice often tells more than the words. As he listens to what the voice tells him, and as he helps others become sensitive and articulate about these meanings, the group gathers important data for improving the quality of its living.

The test of involvement we recognize most readily is that of action. Is the individual willing to go the second mile in helping achieve group goals? Is he concerned to the degree that he feels impelled to give up some of his individual interests, his private agendas, so that the group may move toward its goal? To the degree that group members become involved, will their perceptions of group purposes and group methods have enough commonality to be satisfying to the group and to result in group productivity? If the involvement of the total group is low, probably the planning has been inadequate and the goals being worked on are not really the goals of the group but rather are imposed by the teacher.

What are some of the techniques for securing involvement? Assuming that the teacher is taking into consideration the professional understandings discussed in previous sections relating to needs of people and methods of mutual planning and selection of goals, here are some specific suggestions that often yield beginning steps in involvement in those cases in which individuals fail to respond.

Use special talents of the non-involved

In using these special talents, care must be taken that the talents are appropriate to the group tasks. We don't have Jim "speak a piece" because we think he needs to be involved, but if we know Jim has a talent for reading and is not involved, we try to arrange for Jim's talent to have a functional contribution to make to the activities undertaken. If all the children are doing the same

thing at the same time, we can be rather sure that many are not really involved. There just isn't that much uniformity in human beings. The classroom offers an infinite variety of responsibilities that children are eager to accept if we give them the necessary freedom in following through on responsibilities. Some of the jobs to be done in most schoolrooms that call for special, unique skills are as follows (many more could be added to this list in specific situations):

Junior safety patrol	Messengers
Lunchroom assistants	Care for playground equipment
Building and grounds assistants	School paper jobs
Motion picture operators	Banking assistants
Stockroom assistants	Attendance assistants
Garden assistants	Library assistants
Office assistants	Care for pets
Student council representation	Game assistants

We like the way a youth of eighteen tells of his need for a share in his family's living:

Today there is little group sharing in the family of related responsibilities as a unified group; little sharing of experience or honest-to-goodness fun. True, in the most well-regulated households, the children have their jobs to do, but many of these have no meaning in relation to the over-all activity of the household. Indeed, many of them are created just to provide something for the young person to do because work is considered to be a virtue for its own sake. But work, to create a sense of responsibility, must have meaning in it, must be essential. It must be such that when the job is done, the young person will feel he has made a contribution to something which would have been incomplete without his help. Emptying the waste baskets and cutting the lawn are lonely routines. But drying dishes while mother washes them; trimming the grass while dad weeds the garden; or scraping off the wallpaper in a room the family is redecorating—with all the men and informality which accompany such a job—give the young person a sense of being a member of a team.²



² Theodore Lewis Trout, Jr., "Youth Needs to Share Responsibility," *Child Study*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 103-104.

More attention to this type of sharing both in the family and at school would help young people to feel more involved in the processes that are around them each day. The needs of the group must be tailored to fit the individual interests and capacities of the group members. If we begin with individual interests and then merge these with group needs, we obtain a maximum amount of involvement.

Sociometric devices for determining committee membership

Observing friendship patterns is a way of developing involvement in the group's activities. Many of us are people-centered to the extent that we find it difficult to care about what happens unless we can work with our "buddy." This is especially characteristic of adolescents. As we form committees along friendship lines, we must be sure to give prior attention to the needs of those not highly involved. These are usually the ones not chosen at all or chosen very seldom. Their choices are more urgent to them because they feel a sense of rejection by the group. The use of sociometrics is discussed at greater length in Chapter 19.

Arrange frequent work in small groups

Involvement in a small group is possible for many people who find it quite difficult to relate to larger numbers. A high level of involvement in a small group frequently enables a timid, reserved person to build a bridge to involvement in larger groups. Probably all of us have witnessed some dramatic incidents when this has occurred. We recall a student who was uncomfortable when her committee selected her as its chairman, but who, when she was sharing the committee's report with the entire group, became so carried away with the content of her group's work that she completely lost herself. She spoke so eloquently and convincingly that her classmates cheered her spontaneously. She was a most surprised individual. From that time her involvement in this group was at a very high level, for she had discovered a power within herself that she had not recognized up to that time.

One student expresses her feelings about work in small groups in these words:

I particularly enjoyed breaking up into groups to discuss our problems. This procedure gave me an opportunity to learn much about the people in my group, not only as teachers

but as personalities. It was a sharing of experiences and an exchange of ideas that could never be achieved in a class as a whole. I developed a feeling of intimacy and friendliness with the people in my group. I felt free to discuss my problems and have accepted and tried the many suggestions offered by my group members.

Arrange activities keyed to creature needs—food, drink, fun

A "fun fest" is about the surest way of developing the kind of feelings that lead to involvement—provided that care is taken to plan the affair so that uninvolved members have a significant part in the planning and executing of the affair.

One teacher tells of a group of seven-year-olds who had occasion to visit their classroom of the year before and began to recall their experiences as six-year-olds. These are the things that they remembered:

We remember the big birthday cake we made out of an old hat box and white plaster and when we stuck the candle holders in the plaster. We remember when all of us had birthdays and we blew out the candles. We remember the Christmas toys each of us made. I painted mine red and yellow. My sister still has her stuffed elephant. We had fun when we all moved our tables and chairs around in a big circle and we all helped make butter. I remember the June Festival and when I was a funny clown in our first year circus—and I was an elephant—and I was an acrobat. I remember the Easter parade in the auditorium when we used the rhythm band and made a lot of noise as we marched around with our partners and when we all wore our Easter bonnets that we made out of colored paper and crepe paper. I remember the picnic in Highland Park when we ate our lunch in the grass and sang songs in a big circle.



Group Standards

A measure of the quality of group living is the degree to which the group sets its own standards of behavior and enforces these standards. An integrative group is one in which group members recognize the necessity for certain restrictions upon personal freedoms in order that all may enjoy a larger measure of freedom together. These restrictions are meaningful only to the extent that they grow out of the group itself. When they are imposed

by the status leader or teacher, the group expects that they will also be enforced by this individual. So they become regulations to be circumvented, ignored, or obeyed rather than voluntary arrangements developed for the optimum satisfaction and productivity of all.

Some of the routine marks of group standard setting are:

Do the members observe voluntarily time restrictions by arriving on time, by limiting contributions to time agreed upon, by being creative in the use of blocks of time?

Do the members care for housekeeping duties with a minimum of commotion and distraction?

Is information that is collected from group members for specific purposes shared with the total group?

Is there a minimum amount of waiting for others to get ready to do things?

Are simple, efficacious ways devised for such routine matters as collecting money, making announcements?

Is the group responsible for its own discipline or does it look to an outside authority for discipline?

One teacher describes his experiences helping a group of street youth recognize its responsibility for enforcing its own rules in after-school affairs:

The Central Youth Council had been newly formed and had been meeting without doing much of anything but argue. Once they made up rules, the Council did not seem to be concerned with carrying them out. This was the first experience of many of the members in trying to govern themselves and they seemed a bit at sea as to how to handle their privileges. Some of them were afraid to take a stand on any issues.

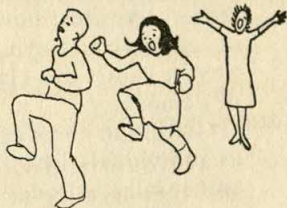
Every Friday night we had dances and kept having a great deal of trouble at times. The Council didn't want to bother worrying about this problem. They felt the teachers should keep order. After weeks of discussion, I finally said there would be no more dances unless the Council took the full responsibility for them. They then sat down and made a list of rules to govern the dances and for the remainder of the dances they worked together to carry out the rules which they had made. It was quite an experience!

This same teacher goes on to describe the gradual change in feelings and behavior that occurred as these teen-agers recognized that they were responsible for their own affairs:

In club meetings, although a teacher is present to act as a guide, the meetings are run by the members. Each club carries on the type of meeting and the activities which the members want. Although these meetings have progressed from street gang and street corner meetings to organized club meetings in a wholesome social setting, there is still more that we can hope for. We will try as the members grow older and more experienced, to help these groups to grow more adept in handling their own affairs. They now plan their own affairs with guidance from the leaders and handle their own finances. Many clubs have turned over a portion of the money they earned to the Center to buy equipment.

Contrast this method of gaining acceptance for the necessity of standards arising from the group, to the one described by another teacher who was given, in his words, a class of "bright students who were literally running wild":

My first thought was to crack down as hard as possible. This I did. I personally set up a code of rules to be followed for line-up, for clothing storage, for behavior in the gym, and behavior in other classes. I must have called in about twenty parents. Punishments were flowing like red wine in Italy on New Year's Eve, and after two weeks of ranting, raving, and constantly pounding order and discipline into them, I achieved a result of almost proper behavior from most of them.



We need ask but one question to test the efficacy of the later approach: What happens when the teacher steps out of the room?

Shared Power—Shared Responsibility

In a highly effective group the power and responsibility are widely distributed. No one is excluded from the basis of power in a thoroughly integrated group. This is clearly demonstrated if we consider a school staff. The decision-making power, if it is to contribute to the growth of both the individual and the group, must reside in all those affected vitally by the decision. This necessitates painstaking attention being given to working through the tiers of power that exist in most of our social structures. We are suggesting, to be specific, that the custodians of a school system

have a greater sense of responsibility for the quality of their work if they also have a well-recognized and definable voice in trying out and selecting the materials they use on the job, in thinking through work schedules and routines, and in determining their relationships with children, parents, teachers, and administrators.

Faculties that plan their curricula together, that have a voice in planning in extra-assignments, that develop their own in-service programs assume more responsibility for their own professionalization than those who have decisions handed down by administrators.

A similar principle applies in the classroom. As the teacher gives pupils a sense that power and responsibility are shared, they accept the direction of their own lives. The following expressions of students in situations in which they had a share in the "running of the class" tell their own story:

Today's discussion was exceptionally stimulating. There were not reactions which I could express in words immediately afterwards; however, I could not help but think deeply of my basic concepts of people in general and wonder if the way in which this class is run is not changing my whole idea of democracy.

Getting to know each other as individuals and to be treated as individuals who have ideas is really important. I've decided unless a leader knows his group, unless he enjoys working with them, and unless they accept the leader nothing very constructive can be done.

I like especially the way you give each student a chance to air his opinions. Then, too, it's important to have the kids feel that the teacher isn't God but is a human being who can make mistakes.

For the first time this term I found myself in an informal, conversational, relaxing atmosphere among friendly, interesting people. This was learning in a new way for me; one never experienced before. The second thing I am aware of is that never at any time did I feel pressured or forced to do any specific assignments. As a result I found that I was interested in reading more books and pamphlets on my own initiative.

The status leader's attitude is of primary importance in securing shared power and shared responsibility. Even if he is seeking a climate that promotes this type of behavior, anticipations and habits of group members in a classroom situation make it difficult

to achieve. As we note from the above quotations, students frequently have developed an expectation of having assignments handed out, knowledge imparted, and tests given with little regard for the feelings of the learner. Some quick ways are enumerated of "sizing up" the degree to which power and responsibility are shared:

Do members communicate directly with each other or do they communicate generally through the leader?

Do members express opinions, ideas, or materials not in harmony with the leader's points of view?

Is the group free to make a large percentage of the decisions?

Is there wide participation in decision-making or is it confined to a few people?

Does the leader do most of the talking?

Is there freedom to challenge ideas regardless of who presents them?

Are jobs carried out by those who want to do them?

Are the pleasant duties (rewards) widely distributed or do they usually fall to a few?

Are the unpleasant duties (housekeeping and the like) widely distributed or do they fall to a few?

Zestfulness

A quality frequently denied children and youth is the opportunity to be gay, to have fun, to express the vibrant joy of living and feeling good about it. Sometimes the hard knocks of life have caused adults to substitute duty for zest. We say, "you must do this because it is your duty. It is your duty to look after baby brother. It's your duty to get your homework. It's your duty to invite Sally to your party." And the child hears: Duty . . . due to. Having to invite Sally is due to mother's insistence. Having to get my homework done is due to mother's insistence. Having to look after baby brother is due to mother's insistence. I don't want to do any of these things, but mother (teacher) insists. This doesn't make me feel too good about mother (teacher). Insisting on duty inverts motives and seldom creates a pleasant situation for anyone. We doubt if Sally enjoys a party to which she is invited out of a sense of duty.



School assemblies started out by being a spontaneous coming-together to share something we have liked with our friends, to give children a chance to do the things they like to do—acting

out situations, singing, telling stories, jokes. And then it came to be the duty in some schools of each teacher and group of children to give an assembly once a semester. The fun went out of assemblies at this point and instead in those situations in which such standardization has taken place, we find the teacher and children dreading their turn. Children becoming ill, teacher becoming cross, and parents becoming irritated because a costume has to be made!

Children who live in crowded cities have a hard time finding enough space, uncluttered by adult trappings, to express their animal spirits. Let's be sure we help them find as many harmless ways as the school facilities and policies afford lest we drive them to perverted means of having a "good time."



And children and youth crave the experience of adults having fun with them. This is a good way to break down some of the stereotype pictures that youngsters have of us as teachers. A picnic yields some surprising results. Teacher has some surprising skills. He is an excellent cook, or a skilled baseball player, or knows lots of funny stories appropriate for telling around a campfire, or has a beautiful voice—and there are some things that teacher can't do. This is helpful for children to find out, too.

Democratic Leader

Because of his power and prestige the teacher in the classroom has a disproportionate effect upon the quality of group living. Since we have two chapters detailing some of the ways in which a democratic leader works in the classroom, we wish to note in this chapter only that the feelings of the leader toward the group affect greatly the quality of group living. The teacher is the status leader and is imposed upon the group. He has to make his own way. At the beginning of the group's experiences, members perceive him as outside of the group. Because of the traditions of the American school, group members often see the teacher as someone to oppose.

The teacher's decisions, thoughts, and feelings, whether he wishes it or not, assume more significance than do those of the group members. His attitudes, the way in which he perceives

his role in the group, the way in which the group perceives him as a person, and his roles in the group are all factors affecting the quality of living.

Considerable research indicates the ways in which the type of leadership affects learning and behavior. Perhaps the best known is that of a group of studies conducted by Lewin, Lippitt, and White.³ One of these was with groups of boys and girls, ten- and eleven-year-olds who were members of mask-making clubs. All factors were kept constant in the group except the group leadership. In one group (authoritarian), the leader made all the decisions, telling the members what to do, how to proceed, with whom to work, and criticized work. In another group (*laissez-faire*), the leader exerted no leadership whatever. Decisions were made by chance and purposes were not clear to group members. In the third group (democratic), the leader encouraged group participation in decision-making, members worked with whomever they chose, plans and procedures were developed cooperatively.

Judging the experimentation by the criteria of production and expressed hostility, the *laissez-faire* group was the least satisfactory. In the authoritarian-led group, almost thirty times as much hostility was expressed as in the democratic-led group. The democratic group completed more masks showing a wider range of creative imagination. The democratic group was characterized by "we"-centered statements, while the authoritarian group was characterized by "I"-centered statements. Judged by the criteria of acceptance, security, and adequacy, the democratic-led group far surpassed the other two groups.

It is significant to note that in this experimentation, the *laissez-faire* group was even less satisfactory than the authoritarian. In both the authoritarian and the democratic groups, the leader was more dominant than a member of the group. His influence was felt, and his attitudes and procedures definitely affected the results of the group. In both the democratic and authoritarian groups, members were working within certain limitations that were clearly understood by them. They knew they came together for the purpose of making masks, they had certain time, facilities, and materials for this project, and these were a part of the situation

³ Kurt Lewin, "Experiments in Social Space," *Harvard Educational Review*, 9 January, 1939, p. 31.

that made possible productivity. These known qualities of the environment added to the security felt by group members and made possible the adequacy and acceptance that resulted.

Today a significant body of research supports the importance of how participants in any process feel about themselves, and an important factor in these feelings are how they feel about their leaders.⁴ As workers are welded into social groups, as they are brought into active consideration and collaboration of their own work problems, production increases. In describing the various degrees of success of Point Four workers in India, Bowles quotes the comments of one of these workers illustrating the importance of the feelings of the leader: "If the village worker is really interested in helping the people, if he treats them like men who are equals, if he respects their opinion and ideas and does not even secretly look down upon them, then he can accomplish wonderful things."⁵

We believe a ten-year-old has said most poignantly what seems to be the core of quality in group living—caring for others. Norma calls her poem *Lonelyness* and this is how she feels about it.

Lonelyness

Lonelyness comes from loving,
Oh this is plain to see
For if nobody loved
Lonelyness could not be.⁶

⁴ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard University, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1945).
⁵ Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 209.

⁶ Norma Lemley, fifth grade, Centennial School, Trinidad, Colorado.

Index

Index

Index

Index

A

- Achievement, on tasks, 29
- Adolescence, identification with a peer group, 30
- Adolescents, group living, 291-296
- Adorno, T. W., 208
- Aged, place for, 82-83, 101-102
- Aldrich, C. A., and Mary M., 135
- Alexander, Holmes, 117
- Allee, Warder Clyde, 37
- Altruism, 109-112
- Ashley-Montagu, M. F., 35, 37
- Authority:
 - constructive attitudes toward, 184-185
 - to serve people, 186
 - a stabilizer, 185

B

- Barclay, Dorothy, 26
- Barr, Stringfellow, 113
- Behavior, recognizing expected, 225-226
- Belongingness, need for, 139-140
- Benne, Kenneth, 253
- Bettleheim, Bruno, 149
- Biological evolution, illustration of cooperation, 36
- Birth statistics, babies born every 24 hours, 23
- Blocking techniques, 232-234
- Body responses, basic, 11
- Bovet, L., 98
- Bowles, Chester, 346

C

- Challenger, as role of teacher, 196-199
- Change:
 - as continuous creation, 71-83
 - creative planning necessary, 80
 - in human capacities, 73

Change (Cont.):

- with industrialization, 74
- resistance to, 78-81
- in schools, 75-76
- security necessary, 81
- unevenness a problem, 77
- universal quality, 168-170
- Characteristic behavior, developmental group, 249-251
- Chase, Stuart, 160
- Children, place for, 100-101
- Chisholm, G. B., 70, 310
- Cities, problems of living in, 92-94
- Clarke, Donald Henderson, 193
- Coghill, G. E., 66
- Committees, work of, 317
- Communication, 160-161, 171-172
- Competition:
 - factor in extinction of species, 38
 - function of scarcity, 38
 - as harmful motivation, 333-335
- Conflict, resolution of, 161
- Conformity, areas of, 174-175
- Consensus, 223
- Conservation, of natural resources, 91-92
- Contentiousness, sign of social illness, 149-150
- Controversial issues, 56-57
- Cooperation:
 - civilization progress in, 38
 - factor in survival of species, 38
 - need for increased by modern technology, 40
- Cousins, Norman, 108
- Creative change, to meet human needs, 83
- Creativity, 172
- Creature need activities, 339
- Cultural effects, upon personality, 21, 67-68
- Cunningham, Ruth, 260, 264, 332

D

- Dale, Edgar, 268
- Davis, Allison, 304
- Davis, Elmer, 108
- Decision, processes of, 170-171
- Decisions, 235-236
- Democracy:
 - difference from authoritarianism, 165-167
 - method of, 14
 - seeks diversity, 172-174
- Democratic leader, 334-336
- Democratic leadership:
 - as facilitative, 213-214
 - as integrative, 210-213
 - as situational, 209-210
 - as teamwork, 214-215
- Developmental tasks, 25-26
 - of early school years, 27-28
 - performance related to emotional factors, 29
 - social responses, 26
- Dewey, John, 33, 53, 184
- Differences:
 - accepted, 228-230
 - affect learnings, 9
- Dignity, of individual, 165-177
- Discussion, techniques of, 267-274
- Disorder, meaning, 148
- Diversity, 172
- Drill:
 - function in learning, 64
 - motive, 65
- Dunbar, Flanders, 103-104, 153
- Durability of construction, 327-328

E

- Elie, Rudolph, 293
- Escapism, 152
- Ewald, Carl, 134
- Exclusion, 151
- Exhibitionism, 151

F

- Face-saving, 221-222
- Faith, 175
- Farnsworth, Dana, 97
- Feelings:
 - concern for others, 56
 - determine behavior, 182-183
 - determine quality of experience, 11
- Fine, Benjamin, 118
- Fiske, John, 23

- Flexibility of construction, 326-327
- Flow chart participation, 259
- Flowerman, Samuel H., 208
- Food supply, 89-90
- Frank, Lawrence, 138
- Freedom:
 - need for, 135-137
 - psychological, 137
- Friend, role of teacher, 192-196
- Fundamentals:
 - of modern living, 109-119
 - the new, 87-106

G

- Genesis of Emotions (film), 25
- Gerard, R. W., 38, 109
- Gesell, A. L., 19
- Gibran, Kahlil, 196
- Goals:
 - appropriate, 60
 - genuine, 60
- Gouldner, Alvin W., 209
- Grief (film), 27
- Group discussion, 267-274
- Group formation, 297-319
- Group health, signs of, 146-153
- Grouping:
 - ability groups, 312
 - age-grade, 298-303
 - desirable practices, 311-319
 - flexibility in, 311-312
 - friendship groups, 312-316
 - homogeneous, 303-308
 - interest groups, 316-317
 - special, 308-311
 - work groups, 317
- Group intelligence:
 - appropriateness criteria, 55
 - basic method of democracy, 41
 - communication, 54-55
 - encourages creative, 50-51
 - functioning of, 35-37
 - group planning, 43-50
 - leadership development, 53-54
 - motives, 55
 - to resolve conflict, 161
 - use of expert knowledge, 51
 - uses scientific method, 221
- Group life, enhances individual living, 17, 165-177
- Group living:
 - of adolescents, 291-296
 - characteristics of various ages, 280-296
 - of intermediate children, 287-289
 - physical conditions, 320-329

- Group living (*Cont.*):
 - of pre-adolescents, 289-291
 - of preschool children, 280-283
 - of primary children, 283-287
- Group planning:
 - checks and balances, 43-44
 - consequences of, 46
 - divergent action, allowance for, 47
 - ends and means, 44-46
 - leads to group action, 48-50
- Group roles:
 - developmental, 249-252
 - teacher assesses, 255
 - teacher evaluates, 255
- Group standards, 339-341
- Group tensions, 226-228

H

- Hader, John J., 171
- Hallowell, A. Irving, 21
- Handicapped, current concepts, 123-126
- Hathaway, Katherine, 125
- Havighurst, Robert J., 26, 29, 280
- Hayakawa, I., 160
- Heard, Gerald, 109
- Hertz, David B., 323
- Home conditions:
 - affect quality of individuals, 26-27
 - found in typical classroom, 5-6
- Homeostasis, 37
- Hook, Sidney, 108
- Human behavior:
 - dynamics of, 42
 - learned, 12, 58-70
 - purposeful, 9
 - social, 15, 18-34
- Human nature:
 - learned, 9
 - result of care, 18-23
- Huxley, Aldous, 166
- Huxley, Julian, 121
- Hymes, James, 183

I

- Illson, Murray, 97
- Infancy, long:
 - affects personality, 23-26
 - encourages social development, 23-26
- Information, free flow of, 175
- Insecurity:
 - city-living causes, 95-96
 - mobility causes, 94-95
 - technology causes, 96

- Intelligence:
 - group, 35-57
 - in group endeavor, 117-119
- Interest, 197
- Involvement:
 - body action, 335
 - in group purposes, 335-336
 - techniques for securing, 336-338
 - voice, 336

J

- Jackson, Shirley, 251
- Jennings, Helen Hall, 260
- Johnson, Wendell, 160
- Juvenile delinquency, 98-99

K

- Keliher, Alice, 307
- Kelley, Earl C., 11
- Kellogg, W. N. and L. A., 19
- Kilpatrick, William Heard, 58, 147

L

- Lasswell, Harold Dwight, 214
- Leader:
 - accepts group feelings, 225-234
 - as coordinator, 241
 - scale of effectiveness, 244
 - senses group needs, 234-239
 - as trainer, 239-241
- Leader's attitude, 342-343
- Leaders:
 - in children's terms, 219-220
 - selection of, 222-223
- Leadership:
 - authoritarian concepts of, 207-208
 - democratic, 209-215
 - functioning of, 201-224
 - processes of, in teaching, 225-246
 - types of, 204-207
- Learning:
 - acculturation, 12-15, 62
 - conditioning, 63
 - drill, function of, 64
 - how human beings learn, 58-70
 - human levels of, 65-66
 - unconscious level of, 63
 - unique for each, 58-59
- Lesser, Sandia Lloyd, 323
- Lewin, Kurt, 24, 345
- Lindeman, Eduard, 167, 171
- Living in groups, quality of, 330-346
- Love, affection, need for, 138-139

M

- Mackintosh, Helen K., 321
 Manipulative devices, shunning, 176-177
 Man's superiority, 35-36
 Maturity of groups, 330-331
 May, Rollo, 96
 Mayo, Elton, 96, 346
 Mead, Margaret, 21
 Meerloo, Joost A. M., 108
 Mental illness, 97
 Mind, self-generated, 103
 Morality:
 concern for all, 113-114
 genuine conduct, 114-115
 need for, 112
 past and present concepts, 115
 in school living, 116-117
 Motherly love, effects of maternal deprivation, 27
 Motivation, effects of extraneous, 149
 Motive, for drill, 65
 Motives:
 anti-social encouraged by culture, 16
 basic stuff of character, 16
 keeping straight on, 333-335
 learned, 59-60
 Motley, Willard, 182
 Mumford, Lewis, 132, 189, 246, 321

N

- Needs:
 of society, 107-119
 vitamins of personality, 131-145
 Neutra, Richard, 327-328

O

- Ogden, R. M., 15
 Orwell, George, 166
 Osborn, Fairfield, 91, 93
 Overlapping interests, 197

P

- Passion for Life (film), 46
 Pavlov, Ivan Petrovich, 63
 Peers, 28
 importance of, 289-296
 Perceptions:
 of adults, 180-181
 of children, 179-180, 181-182
 Planning, 43-50, 235
 Plant, James S., 13, 31
 Political methods, 99-100

- Population, current estimates, 89
 Power, use of, 105-106
 Prejudice:
 inoculation against, 157-161
 patterns of, 153-155
 psychological bases, 155-156
 used by despoilers, 156-157
 Process, importance of, as quality of living, 167-168
 Psychosomatic illness, 152
 Purposes, common, 332-333

Q

- Quiet One, The (film), 139

R

- Raths, Louis, 137, 260
 Recording, training for, 240-241
 Recreation, 102-105
 Redl, Fritz, 140, 209, 289
 Reliable information, need for, 99
 Remedial groups, 308-309
 Role:
 of adults in child's life, 178-200
 of participators, 317-318
 of school, 6-7
 Role-playing, 274-279
 Roles:
 feelings about, 182-184
 group-centered, 252-254
 of group membership, 247-265
 teacher's, 184-200
 Room arrangement, 322-326
 Ross, E. A., 157
 Russell, Bertrand, 110
 Russell, E. S., 9

S

- Sandburg, Carl, 20
 Scapegoating, 149
 Scattergram, 313
 School, expansion of social world, 27
 School practices:
 appeal to destructive motivations, 41-42
 evaluated by needs, 140-142
 experiences in group intelligence, 57, 118-119
 improve understanding of authority, 188-190
 learning affected by, 68-70
 thwarting social development, 33-34
 Security, in expectancy of change, 82-83

- Self-respect, 132-135
 Self-understanding, 263
 Shaftel, George and Fannie R., 277
 Shared power—shared responsibility, 341
 Sharp, L. B., 49
 Shaw, Clifford Robe, 67, 148
 Sheats, Paul, 253
 Simpson, George Gaylord, 38
 Small group work, 338
 Smith, Homer W., 33
 Smith, Lillian, 19, 125
 Social attitudes, fixing, 13, 29
 Social change, 71-73
 Social development:
 long infancy encourages, 23-26
 significance of, 31-34
 Social health, 146-161
 signs of social ill health, 147-158
 Sociodrama, 274-279
 suggested situations, 278-279
 teacher's role in, 277-278
 Socio-economic factors, 334
 Sociogram, 312-316
 Sociometric devices, 338
 Sources, authentic, 186
 Space, 320-322
 Spitz, Rene A., 25
 Spock, Benjamin, 61
 Stamp, L. Dudley, 91
 Standardization, 34, 126
 Standards, determined by group, 339, 340
 Stoddard, George D., 67
 Stolz, Lois Meek, 21
- T
- Talents, use of special, 336-337
 Teacher:
 as advocate of children, 199-200
- Teacher (*Cont.*):
 as challenger to learn, 196-199
 as democratic leader, 216-224
 as friend, 192-196
 recognizing uniqueness, 190-191
 as symbol of authority, 184-190
 Teacher needs, 143-145
 Teacher's role:
 in creating environment, 258-261
 in helping group membership, 254-255
 Thoms, Herbert, 27
 Timing, 237
 Tobias, Channing H., 51
 Trost, Theodore Louis, Jr., 337
- U
- Uniqueness:
 of each child, 190-192
 employed by modern life, 120-130
 necessary to group life, 126-127
 physical, 127-130
- V
- Values, 237-239
 Van Doren, Carl Clinton, 38
 Vitamins of personality, 131, 145
- W
- Water supply, 90-91
 White, E. B., 94
 Whiting, John W. M., 21
 Whitman, Walt, 13
 Wofford, Kate, 322
- Z
- Zestfulness, 343-344

